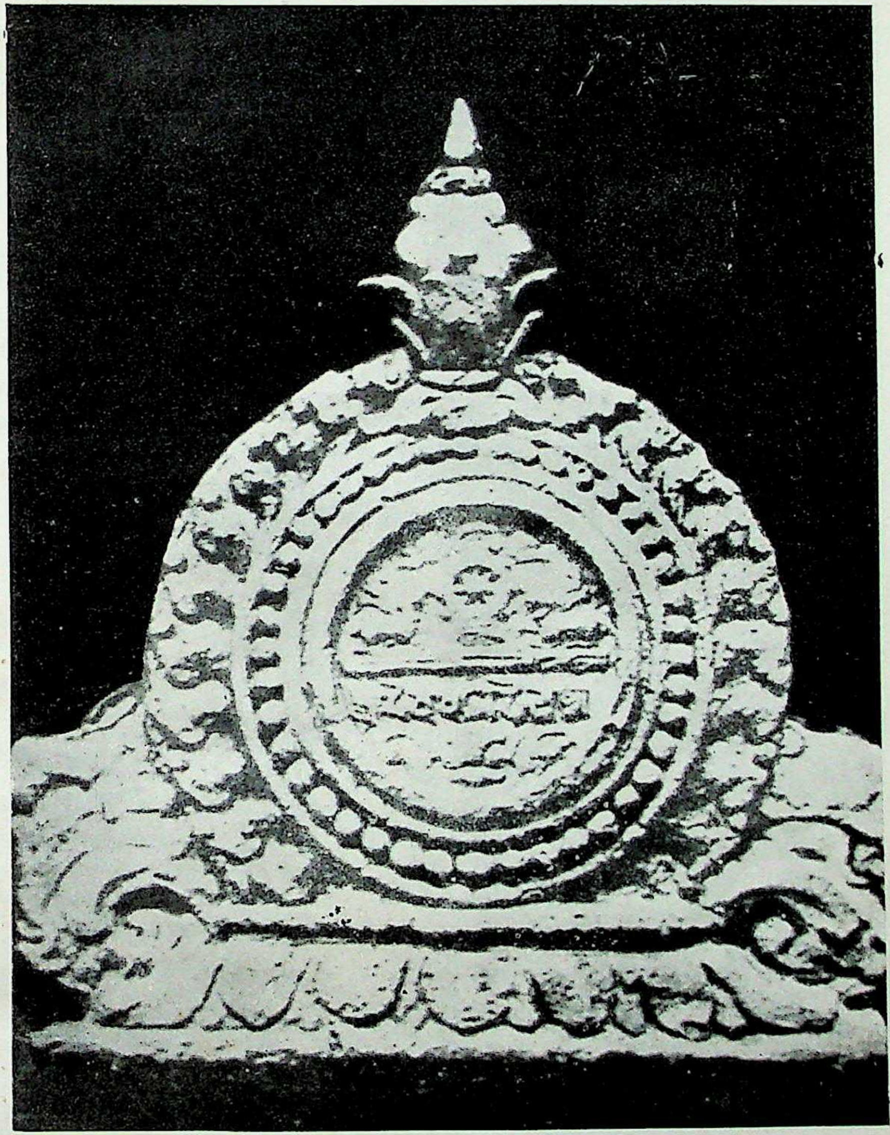
THE
NĀLANDĀ UNIVERSITY

H. D. SANKALIA

ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS, DELHI



The seal of Devapāladeva with *Dharmacakra* and two gazelles on each side

THE
UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ

THE
UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA

BY
H. D. SANKALIA

1972
ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS
1488, PATAUDI HOUSE, DARYAGANJ
DELHI-6 (INDIA)

ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS
1488, PATAUDI HOUSE, DARYAGANJ,
DELHI-6 (INDIA)

4375

©

2nd Revised and Enlarged Edition
1972
Price Rs. 45.00

State Museum Library
Lucknow

PRINTED IN INDIA

PUBLISHED BY INDERJEET SHARMA, FOR ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS, 1488, PATAUDI HOUSE, DARYAGANJ, DELHI-6 AND PRINTED AT SARVADESHIK PRESS, DELHI-6.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The University of Nālandā was the author's thesis for the Master of Arts degree submitted to the University of Bombay in March 1932 in lieu of eight papers in Ancient Indian History, and published later in 1934, with a grant from the University. Owing to the intrinsic importance of the subject it soon became a "best-seller," as the publisher reported, because it was prescribed or recommended in University curricula in India and outside Naturally there were many offers for reprinting it from reputed firms of publishers, but the writer always thought, that the book should not be re-printed without a revision. However, all these years, being engaged in active field work, and publication of the results thereof, and guiding Ph. D. students and teaching at the M.A., little time was found for going back to his "first love," and putting it in the shape he desired.

When, therefore, the present publishers approached the author for reprinting the book, with the assurance that the book would be immediately taken up for printing, the offer was readily accepted. And within the short time allowed to him all the important points, such as the rise of the University—its patrons (Chapter III), Studies (Chapter IV), its pandits (Chapter V), and the origins of Tantricism, (Chapter VI) and its end (Chapter X) have been checked, and brought upto-date wherever necessary.

Fortunately this task was not difficult. Thanks to the excellent volumes *on the History and the Culture of the*

Indian People published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan under the inspiration of the late Dr. K.M. Munshi—for this service he will ever be remembered by scholars all over the world—and the able General Editorship of Dr. R.C. Majumdar, a fairly uptodate and reliable account of all that has been published on ancient Indian Political history, Social and Religious Institutions. Religion and Philosophy, Education and Art, Architecture and Painting is now available.

These accounts are further supplemented by good topical bibliographies. Moreover, there are special works devoted to the social and economic life during the Gupta Period and on Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, and many small ones of no less importance. All these have provided the much needed detailed social and economic, as well as religious and philosophical background for the rise and growth of an educational institution like the University of Nālandā.

A quick perusal of the relevant sections in the volumes referred to above, particularly Volume III *The Classical Age*, Volume IV *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* and Volume V *The Struggle For Empire*, covering the main span of the University of Nālandā showed that no important discoveries had been made during the late 40 years (1932-1972) which would necessitate a complete recasting or drastic revision of the book. On the contrary all the research—primary and secondary—has gone to confirm what the author had said in 1932. Thus the authors of the *Classical Age* accept the view that a series of Gupta kings had patronized the University, though another section-author credits this to "local Gupta kings," while the General Editor is completely silent on the point. But who could be these kings ruling only a few miles form Pāṭaliputra (Patna), either as vassals or independent kings (except the Gupta emperors themselves ?) and would vassals have so much wealth as to go on building huge *Saṅghārāmas* and Vihāras and provide for their maintenance by donating villages and that too for a century and more? Secondly, if Bālāditya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang the old spelling given by Beal is consistently followed) is identified with one of the last Gupta emperors bearing that name, viz., Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, then the identification of his predecessors should naturally be with rulers from the Imperial dynasty. Anyway no evidence has yet come forward to reject or modify the identification first proposed by the late Rev. Father Heras and accepted by the author. On the contrary as shown in that section, the discovery of numerous sealings, some bearing the name *Śakrāditya*, and the seals of Puragupta, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and Kumāragupta II and the coins of Kumāragupta I from the deeper layers of monastery at Nālandā has convincingly proved the soundness of this identification. And this should now be accepted without any reserve.

One thing needs to be emphasized. An educational institution like a University can grow and take its birth only where there is an organized fraternity of people—scholars—whether they be religiously oriented or otherwise. In India a Buddhist Saṅgha, and to some extent Jaina, alone could have been the nucleus of or provided the background for, a University and not a Hindu or Brāhmin *āśramas* of a *ṛishi*. For the latter had hardly the organization worth the name. And a University whether be in India or Europe, had to be religion-oriented, for it is only in the last 50 years that our ideas have changed, and we have an agricultural university, or technical institutions like those at Massachussets, Kanpur and Powai, near Bombay.

With regard to the existence of Nālandā as an educational institution, as early as the 2nd century A.D. the authors of the HCIP accept the statement of Tārānātha that Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and others had lived as Pandits of Nālandā. So these bits of information have been included at the relevant places in this education.

On the origins of Tantra no new facts are available, though a very recent work Tantra Yoga by Nick Douglas (1971), traces its origins to the Indus or the Harappa Civilization. No doubt, evidence for the worship of the Linga and Yoni have now been found in many prehistoric cultures of Western Asia, but still to regard these as Tantric in origin, or to think that these provide evidence for tracing the origin of Tantricism is stretching the evidence a little too far.

Apart from this, those readers who are so interested, could consult the volumes of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on other aspects, such as Vajrayāna Kālacakrayāna on which this book could not go into much detail, some 40 years ago, when it was coming into prominence.

Attention should also be drawn to the proper evolution of the Tantrayāna, Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna as these were regarded in India and Tibet, and still practised in the latter country. Independent and objective studies by Glasenapp, Evan Wintz and Guenther have shown that there was nothing morally wrong in the practices advocated by these psycho-spiritual developments in Buddhism, while the aim was truly transcendental. Extracts from these works elucidating these points of view are cited in the relevant sections of the book.

Another important development is the increasing interest in India, Japan and Europe not only in the study of Early Buddhism. but also later Buddhism. We find therefore a number of articles on the works of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga, Dharmakīrti and others in the *Journal of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, and also the editions of some of the famous works on Logic and Buddhist Philosophy by these Nālandā pandits are now available. Wherever possible these have been cited in the book.

All this information has become easily accessible because of the publication of *2500 years of Buddhism* by the Government of India in 1959, whereas *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* by S. Dutt (1962), not only provides a much needed visual but also reliable data.

With regard to the studies of Nālandā and its pandits, as well as its end in Magadha and Nālandā and the influence of or the value of education at Nālandā, even when it had passed its heyday, most welcome light is thrown by a Tibetan source. This is a first hand account of the political, social and religious conditions in Nepal, and Bihar in the 13th century, to be precise, in the years 1234-1236 A.D. At this time a Tibetan monk, Chag Lo-tsa-Ba Chos-Rja-Dpal, *alias* Dharmasvāmin, notwithstanding the insecure conditions created by the Muslim conquest of Bihar, and the great destruction of its religious and educational institutions, and notwithstanding advice to the contrary by some of his wellwishers in Tibet, paid a visit to some of the most famous Buddhist religious places such as Bodhagayā (which is called Vajrāsana, in the account), Rājagṛha and Nālandā. Even though the last mentioned place was almost deserted, many of its *vihāras* and *Saṅghārāmas* and libraries having been damaged, and ransacked, he spent two years there studying with the 90-year old Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhulabhadra. This information has been included under respective headings, but here what Dharmasvāmin says of Magadha and how well he was received on his return to Tibet, and in the distant Mongolia is briefly mentioned.

"In Tibetan," says Dharmasvāmin, "Magadha means holding that which became the centre...... This country stretches from Vajrāsana towards the four quarters...and is the very centre of the world. The "middle" as explained in the Doctrine (Buddhist), is that where there is study, reflection and meditation." We may disagree with the etymology of Magadha, but what Dharmasvāmin and incidentally the whole outside world thought of Magadha, (which now presents a sorry spectacle of a country rent by political dissensions, student indiscipline and extreme poverty) is clear. Inspite of political subjugation by an alien race. it was still regarded as the one centre of knowledge—mundane as well as spiritual. Naturally, the fame of a person (monk) who had luckily managed to return from such a centre, encompassed the ten quarters, as a scholar and venerable monk not only in Tibet, but also in Mongolia where he was invited by Kublai Khan. However, this revival was shortlived, for the entire, milieu—political, social, religious and economic—had changed.

This book is not a history of Nālandā, as a critic then expected. This history, whenever it attempted, would largely be archaeological. Had the excavations, some 60 years ago, been conducted on modern lines, then they would have helped to recreate at least some aspects of the daily life of the *Vihāras* and *Saṅghārāmas*. In fact, a planned, careful work would have enabled us to visualize not only the lay out but given an insight into the life of this city of knowledge and learning. But this is not possible. because except the careful clearance of several buildings very little of the other aspects of daily life have been recorded and preserved, though even now it would be worthwhile to prepare an account of the material culture from the various small objects—such as iron locks and keys, pots and pans, besides of course art, architecture and iconography.

What is here suggested might still be attempted when the ancient site of another famous University, Vikramaśilā, is excavated. The aim should be to recreate the social and religious life and not lay bare merely sculptures—stone, stucco and bronze,—and parts of buildings.

Another point of criticism and this was the only other, that reliance had been placed in some cases on "second hand" sources, or what is now called "modern literature." There is nothing wrong in using the existing literature, instead of claiming originality for every statement made.

With this brief statement, the book is published as it was in 1934.

I should here acknowledge my gratitude to one of my former teachers, Professor M F. Colaco, Professor of English, St. Xavier's College and later in the Elphinston College, Bombay for going through the First Edition of the book, and Dr. S N. Bhavsar for going through the typescript of this edition.

Independence Day, 15-8-72 H.D. Sankalia
सच्चिदानन्द
Deccan College, Poona

CONTENTS

CHAPTER *PAGE*

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION V

I. THE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSITY 1

II. PART I : THE BACKGROUND OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ 5

II : TRANSFORMATION OF 'SANGHĀRĀMAS' INTO TEMPLES OF LEARNING 26

III. THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS GROWTH UNDER KINGS OF VARIOUS DYNASTIES 36

IV. STUDIES OF NĀLANDĀ 76

V. FAMOUS PANDITS OF NĀLANDĀ 123

VI. RITUALISM OF NĀLANDĀ BUDDHISM 151

VII. STUDENT LIFE 165

VIII. CONTEMPORARY UNIVERSITIES 207

IX. NĀLANDĀ—AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY 220

X. THE END OF NĀLANDĀ 238

XI. NĀLANDĀ TODAY 248

XII. THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF NĀLANDĀ AS REVEALED FROM ITS FINDS 261

XIII. CONCLUSIONS 272

APPENDIX

A. THE THEORY OF DHYĀNI BUDDHAS 275

B. TANTRISM AND PROVINCIAL VERNACULARS 278

BIBLIOGRAPHY 279

INDEX 237

Chapter I

The Ideal of a University

The idea of a University, it would be thought, was foreign to India. It might therefore be asked, "How could it be applied to an institution which was purely Indian ?" Therefore, before we use it with reference to the educational institutions that flourished at Nālandā, we must, first know what is meant by a University and then see with what propriety we could apply the term to Nālandā.

The word 'University' originally meant a number or aggregate of persons. In this sense, it was applied to a scholastic body of teachers or scholars, but never to a place, where such a body was established, or even to its collective schools.[1]

In course of time, it was used with reference to an institution which embraced all the arts and sciences,[2] whereas Newman described a University as a place which attracted students of every kind.[3]

---

[1] See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1, p. 6.

[2] Mosheism, *Hist.* Vol, II, p. 529, referred to by Newman, *The Idea of a University*, p. 20.

[3] Newman, *o.c.*, p. 20. Rashdall however says that this interpretation is nothing but the appropriation of the word "*studium generale*".

The word 'University' then, has a definite meaning and connotation. It stands, first, for a place which imparts knowledge in all the arts and sciences and secondly, for a place which attracted students of every kind from all over the world.

But a University has definite views with regard to the type of students it admits within its walls and also with regard to the kind of education it imparts. As regards the former, it admitted only those students who possessed the requisite qualifications and as to the latter, it sought to give the right type of education, which Newman defined as one that acts upon our mental nature and helps in the formation of character. "It is", says he, "something individual and permanent, and is commonly spoken in connection with religion and virtue."[1] The aim of education, therefore, was the spiritual advancement of the student, and not any material gain—"some art, or business, or profession or work as resulting from it and as its complete and real end."[2]

The right type of education as Newman further tells us, is that which makes one a 'gentleman', whom he describes as one who has a cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid, equitable, dispassionate mind and a noble or courteous bearing in the conduct of life.[3] These qualities are the result of wide knowledge. And this knowledge, according to Newman, comprises not only subjects such as Grammar,

---

[1] Newman, *o.c.*, p. 108. We may as well compare what Emperor Julian said of education, "Right education, I consider to be not the gracefulness that resides in words and on tongue, but a healthy disposition of an intelligent mind and true opinion about the good and the bad, the noble and the base." From Walden, *Universities of Ancient Greece*, p. 110-n.

[2] Newman, *o.c.*, p. 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

Logic, and Astronomy, but also abstruse ones, such as Philosophy and Theology.[1]

Theology should be included in the curriculum, not only because as Newman says, it acquaints one with the scriptures, but because it is the Science of God,[1] or because it systematises the truth we know about God. Religious training, so defined, would not narrow the outlook of the student (as it would possibly do in the Hindu and the Moslem University), but would instil in him a catholicity of outlook and would teach him to place reason above emotion.

This, in short, was the ideal of a University in Europe and we are now in a position to see whether there was an institution or even a word in India, which connoted an idea similar to that of a University, before we discuss, in the chapters that follow, how far the educational institutions at Nālandā could be called a University.

For an educational institution like a University, we have to go back into the remote history of education in ancient India. Here the word '*Upaniṣad*' itself seems to serve our purpose. Literally it means, "to approach for instruction". Nevertheless, it pre-supposes a teacher or group of teachers whom the student or students approached for knowledge.

---

1. Perhaps those at the helm of our British Indian Universities will wonder at the inclusion of Theology. "What has Theology to do" they might ask, "with the University or Liberal Education?" and paradoxical as it would seem, our Universities have no such subject as Theology, when we find that all the ancient Universities of India and Europe, Takṣaśilā, Nālandā, Paris and Oxford respectively, had a special chair for Theology. Even upto this day, in Oxford, Theology continues to occupy the same high position as it did, when the University was first founded. The Universities of Benaras and Aligarh have done well to fill up this long-felt want in the equipment of students' education by making Theology, be it Hinduism or Islam, compulsory for their students.
2. Newman *o.c.* p. 61.

This knowledge, as we learn from the *Upaniṣads* themselves,[1] and from the interpretation of the word '*Upaniṣad*', was not divulged to an unworthy student.[2] A student thus, was required to have the necessary qualification before he could seek higher knowledge. This knowledge as we learn from Nārada, embraced all the then known arts and sciences,[3] This instruction was not confined to a class or sect of students, but to all, provided they were well equipped.[4]

This knowledge was not to be acquired for material purposes. It was spiritual and transcendental. For "not the knowledge of the *Vedas*, etc.", said the Upaniṣadic philosopher, "is true knowledge. That alone is true knowledge which ends in the realization of Brahma, of Akṣara" (*sā vidyā yā vimuktaye*).[5]

Thus, even as early as the Upaniṣadic times, India had evolved a system of education which, in spite of its extreme simplicity, could stand comparison, so far as the essentials are concerned, with similar organizations of the West known as 'City schools', *Studium generale*', 'University' etc. In course of time, this system came to be introduced or was prevalent in the *āśramas*, *maṭhas* and *vihāras*. Let us see how far it embodied the aims and ideals of educational institutions of the East and of the West.

---

1. The word '*Upaniṣad*' is interpreted to mean secret doctrine. See for instance *Nṛsiṁha-uttara-tapani upaniṣad*, where we meet with the phrase '*iti rahasyam*' no less than four times.

2. The best known instance is that of Naciketas in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, who realised the secret of death by persistent effort, while Virocana, as we learn from *Chāndogya*, V, 11, returned empty-handed.

3. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 2. For a fuller reference, see Chap. II, p. 8.

4. Cf. for instance the case of Satyakāma, Jābāla, *Chāndogya*, IV, 4. ff.

5. *Muṇḍaka Upanisad*, I. 5.

Chapter II

Part I

The Background of the University of Nālandā

For the formation of a state, a territory and the people who would inhabit that territory are necessary. For framing the laws of a constitution, there must exist first the constitution *de facto*. In fact, for all human institutions, the first requisite is matter. This matter may vary according to the needs of institutions. For an institution like the University of Nālandā what we require is matter in the shape of literature, using the word literature in a loose sense so as to comprise religion, philosophy, science, art and so forth.

So before a great University like Nālandā comes into being, there must be in existence a great and vast literature which the University may take upon itself to teach and to expound. This does not mean that the University confines itself to the work already done, and that it creates nothing new.[1] We shall see in the following chapters how the teachers at Nālandā turned their activities into new channels like *Nyāya*, *Tantra*, etc., and wrote massive volumes on these subjects. The Nālandā University, in this respect, was very fortunate. Unlike the Mediaeval European Universities of Salerno, Bologna and Paris,[1] the period that preceded the rise of the Nālandā University was characterised by an intellectual fervour unknown to the history of any country. India had not known anything like the "Dark Ages" in her intellectual history, before the invasion of the Moslems in the 12th century A D. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that India was overrun more than once by foreigners—once by the Greeks under Alexander and then by hordes of Huns, and in spite of the fact that India was at no period of her history completely free from internal wars of aggrandisement, Nālandā had, therefore, a very rich heritage to draw upon.

---

[1] According to Newman, however, this is never the aim of a University. Its sole aim is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. *o.c.*, Preface, p. IX.

This heritage we may divide into two parts—Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The non-Buddhist part, to give only a bare outline, would include *Vedas*, *Vedānta* works on such philosophical systems, as the *Sāṁkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and other branches of knowledge that will be enumerated hereafter. The Buddhist division would include the various teachings of Buddha contained in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Dhammapada*, *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Sutta Piṭaka* and others.

But more than these, there were works which were of greater importance, works which tried to expound the teachings of Buddha, such as *Prajñāpāramitā* and commentaries thereon composed by Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others, who had given Buddhism its philosophy.[2]

We see, therefore, that the ground was already prepared for the foundation of a great University, a University that would attract students from many a foreign land.

Another thing that must draw our attention is the curriculum that was prevalent, prior to the foundation of the

---

[1] See Rashdall, o.c., I, p. 26.

[2] An excellent idea can be had all these developments from the charts given in *2,500 years of Buddhism*, pp. 124 and 139.

University. As this curriculum consisted of various courses we shall undertake a rapid survey of them, and see how these varying items of education came to be consolidated into one harmonious whole. This survey may well be called a survey of the various landmarks in the history of education in ancient India. For a distinct addition and alteration was made in the curriculum at each period.

The age of Pāṇini, 600-700 B.C., we take as our first landmark.[1] For he immediately succeeds that latest compilers of the *Upaniṣads* and the author of *Nighaṇtu* Yāska, Pāṇini, moreover, represents the Sutra-period in the development of various kinds of Indian literature.[2]

The curriculum in the time of Pāṇini, then, was approximately as follows :

Besides the four Vedas, we find that several other subjects of study were taught in those days. They were :—

(1) *Anuśāsana* which according to Sāyaṇa, is the name given to the six Vedāṅgas, viz :—
(a) *Śikṣā* (Phonetics), (b) *Kalpa* (Ritualistic knowledge), (c) Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), (d) *Nirukta* (Exegetics), (e) *Chandas* (Metrics), and (f) *Jyotiṣa* (Astronomy)

(2) *Vidyā*, meaning *Sarpavidyā* or *Viṣavidyā*.

(3) *Vākovakyam*, explained by Śaṅkara as the art of disputation.

(4) *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*

(5) *Ākhyāna*

(6) *Anvākhyāna*

(7) *Anvākhyāna*, interpreted by Śaṅkara as explanation of mantras.

---

[1] Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 16. Keith (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 426), however, opposes this view, and assigns 400 B.C., as the earliest date of Pāṇini. He however agrees with our two subsequent statements.

[2] Cf, Keith, *o.c.*, p. 425. He, however, places him in about 350 B.C.

(8) *Vyākhyāna.*

(9) *Gātha.*

(10) *Nārāśaṁsi.*

(11) *Brāhmaṇa.*

(12) *Kṣatra Vidyā*, explained by Śaṅkara as the science of bows.

(13) *Rāśi* which Śaṅkara explains as the science of numbers or arithmetic.

(14) *Nakṣatra Vidyā.*

(15) *Bhūta Vidyā*, interpreted differently by Macdonnel, Śaṅkara, and Raṅga Rāmañuja, as demonology, the science of life, and the art of controlling, respectively.

(16) *Nidhi*, probably some sort of divination.

(17) *Sarpa-Vidyā.*[1]

(18) *Atharvāṅgirasa.*

(19) *Daiva*, explained by Śaṅkara as the science of portents.

(20) *Pitrya*, the science of manes.

(21) *Sūtra*, in the sense of a book of rules for the guidance of sacrifices, and other rituals.

(22) *The Vedas of Vedas.* (*Vedānam Vedam*), explained by Śaṅkara to mean "Grammar of old Sanskrit."

(23) *Ekavāna*, literally "the only correct path" explained by Śaṅkara as the science of conduct.

(24) *Deva vidyā*, explained by Śaṅkara and Raṅga Rāmānuja as *Nirukta* or Exegetics and the science of the worship of gods respectively.

(25) *Devajñāna-Vidyā*, explained by Śaṅkara as the arts affected by the lesser gods, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments and other fine arts.

---

[1] Perhaps the same as (2) p. 7,

The above is rather an exhaustive list of subjects collected by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji,[1] from various *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads. Chāndogya Upaniṣad* alone gives a fairly good number of subjects. Says Nārada[2] to Sanatkumāra, "I have studied, most Reverend Sir, the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda* as fourth, the epic and the mythological poems as the fifth *veda*, grammar, arithmetic, divination, chronology, dialectics, politics, theology, necromancy, the art of war, astronomy, snake-charming, and the fine arts.

It need not be imagined that all students were as versatile as Nārada. There can be no greater misconception than that. The inference that we draw from these curricula is that ancient Hindus studied many other subjects besides the four *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*. It is difficult to say, however, whether these different subjects were taught at one place as at Nālandā,[3] or at different places noted for their specialization in particular branches of knowledge.

Repeated references to Takṣaśilā[4] as an academy for medical studies show that it took a long time before educational centres like Nālandā came to be founded where Philosophy, Theology, Science and even Medicine were taught,[5] and that, before their rise these subjects were taught not at one place but at different places famed in particular branches of knowledge.

But the subjects, that we most commonly come across in the old curriculum before Pāṇini and even after him, are summarised below, even at the risk of repetition. For it was this curriculum that underwent a change from time to time.

---

[1] "Ancient Hindu Education, as evidenced by the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee* Vol. *Orientalia*, Part I, pp. 217-251.

[2] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, I.

[3] Shaman Hwui Li, *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Tr. Beal, p. 112.

[4] For instance, See *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1,6. where we are told that Jīvaka Komarabhakka went to Takṣaśilā to study medicine,

[5] Hwui Li o,c., p. 112.

There were the *Vedas*, *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, *Sāma* and *Atharva*. The student specialized in any one of the four ; if he was a student above the average and had the requisite energy, means and leisure, he mastered more than one *Veda*.

The various *Brāhmaṇas* such as *Aitareya*. *Taittiriya*, *Tāṇḍya*, *Śatapatha*, as appendices to each *Veda*, come next.

Upaniṣads, the philosophical treatises, however, formed the most interesting though, abstruse, part of the students' curriculum. Here they came across that which required more than mere memory work, for it called for deep meditation.

After the *Upaniṣads* comes the *Sūtra* literature. This was divided into three parts. There were the *Śrauta sūtras*, dealing with the details of the ceremonial relating to Vedic rituals. Next come the *Dharma sūtras*, which prescribed the duties of a man in all the spheres of his life. His duties as a *Brahmacāri*, that is when he is a student, his duties when he is a householder, his duties when he retires to a forest as a *Vānaprasthāśrami*, and as a *Sanyāsi* are enumerated with meticulous precision, by these *sūtras*. These *sūtras* also deal with the duties of a king, besides many other things. They, in short, tell us of the religious, social and legal duties of an individual. *Gṛhya sūtras* dealing with the domestic life of a person form the last part of this *Sūtra* literature. Another branch of study that a student before Pāṇini or in his times used to take up, was the Science of Pronunciation called *Śikṣā* or Phonetics.[1] Mention may be made of *Chandas* or Metre as a branch of science studied by the student. *Nirukta* or Etymology was also a widely known science at that time, and continued to be so even in the centuries that followed. Lastly comes *Jyotiṣa* or Astrology and Astronomy.

Despite so many other subjects, the *Vedas* constituted the principal part of a student's education. Consequently education in India was primarily religious and continued to be such till the advent of western education.

---

[1] This later in the 19th-20th century became one of the principal foundations of the present science of phonetics.

The *Sāṁkhya* system may be taken as forming a second landmark in the history of education. Its founder, Kapila flourished somewhere about the 7th century B.C.,[1] i.e., about a century or two before Buddha. It was he, who for the first time, put purely atheistic ideas before a people steeped in ritualism and who believed in a host of gods and goddesses. He propounded a theory of the Universe in which God has no place. He instead put forward a duality : Nature (*Prakṛti*) and Spirit (*Puruṣa*). The whole Universe except the *Puruṣa* originated from this *Prakṛti* ; and the *Puruṣa* was only linked with the *Prakṛti*. Moreover, he said that the *Puruṣa* differed with each individual, and had separate existence after its emancipation from the bonds of *Prakṛti*. Kapila, thus, ran counter in his views to those in the *Upaniṣads* both in his theory of the creation of the Universe and in his theory of the Spirit. This new philosophy drew many students. Some were attracted by it because they found in it an escape from the Vedic ritualism ; some, because they could not be convinced by the Upanisadic doctrines about the existence of God and the creation and destruction of the Universe ; some, because of its close reasoning ; others, because they wanted to study the new philosophy in order to compare and criticise it. That the new philosophy was the centre of attraction for these types of students, can be seen from the number of champions and opponents the *Sāṁkhya* system had, from its very inception, till the end of the 14th century. If Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and Vārṣaṇeya wrote works in favour of it, in the fifth century A.D., Vasubandhu and other prominent Buddhist scholars wrote refutation of it in the same century

---

[1] Keith, *o.c.*, p. 488, opposes this view. To him, views, believing in the existence of Kapila and the antiquity of the *Sāṁkhya* system, appear, groundless, though he does not assign any definite period to that system.

(A.D. 400),[1] and drew the attention of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who according to the biographer, was silenced and converted the opponent. Śaṅkara's, Rāmānuja's and Vallabha's refutations of the system are too well-known to need a mention.

The *Sāṁkhya*-system, thus, made a splendid contribution to the old curriculum of the Pāṇini Age. But another surprise was in store for orthodox Brahmanism which was already assailed by the atheistic *Sāṁkhya.* Yet another doctrine, this time agnostic, made its appearance on this philosophy-fed land. Buddhism, like *Sāṁkhya*, did not categorically deny the existence of God. And instead of entering upon discussions about the existence of God and creation of the Universe, it confined itself to its object, *viz.* to afford humanity relief from the suffering and pain to which all living beings are subject at one time or another. Here we do not propose to deal with Buddhism as a religion. Suffice it to mention the various works which contained the tenets and preachings of its founder.

Buddhism, when originally propounded, say, between the period 522 B.C. and 477 B.C.,—the period when Buddha first became enlightened, and the years in which he preached his doctrine,[3] had no regular books containing the doctrine of Buddha. Nay, even after his death his teachings were transmitted from generation to generation only orally. It was in the last century of the pre-Christian period or in the beginning of the New Era that they were reduced to writing. The writings being collected together are metaphorically called *Piṭakas* (Baskets or Boxes). They are *Suta Piṭaka, Vinaya Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* The above is merely a sketch of primitive Buddhism, which was essentially ethical. We shall deal with the history of schism in the Buddhist camp divided into various schools, the development of Buddhist philosophy with the discovery of *Prajñāpāramitā*, and philosophical commentaries on it by Nāgārjuna and others, in their respective places. Now, before we revert to the Buddhist philosophy, we have to take into account the rise of new systems that originated during the interval when Buddhism was making a steady progress, and their contribution to the curriculum.

---

[1] See Takakusu, "Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu." *J.R.A.S.* 1905, p. 47.

[2] Hwui Li, o.c., pp. 161-164.

[3] Buddha was born in 563 B.C. and died in 483. See Coomaraswami, *Buddha and the Gospal of Buddhism*, p. 9.

The modification that primitive Buddhism had made in the curriculum of the Kapila Age[1] was negligible, because the preaching and doctrines of Buddha were primarily studied in the Buddhist *Vihāras* by those who had embraced Buddhism. These students, who were generally *Bhikkhus*, never troubled themselves about other studies, of the *Vedas*, etc. Hindu institutions—*gurukulas* and the like, similarly, did not introduce the study of Buddhist doctrine as it was feared that it might divert the students to Buddhism. Whatever modifications were effected by Buddhism in the curriculum, were effected by it, when philosophy entered it, and these modifications we will study in the pages that follow.

The new systems that came into existing during the transition period, when Buddhism was slowly developing, were *Yoga*, *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*.

The *Yoga* philosophy supplied what the *Sāṁkhya* lacked. Its author Patañjali[2] lived somewhere about the 2nd century B.C. The *Sāṁkhya* believed in god, "the *Yoga* advocated faith in a Supreme Deity, as well as some mystic practices and meditation by which beatitude could be obtained."[1] Here was something for those who were not satisfied with the *Sāṁkhya*, to pin their faith to, and who believed all the while in the *Sāṁkhya* dialectics also. . Moreover, the very reason which drew students to the *Sāṁkhya* system, also drew students to this new system. This *Yoga* system caused some wonderful changes. The atheistic *Sāṁkhya*-system it almost converted into theistic ;[2] it made itself acceptable on account of some of its practices even to the Vedāntins,[3] while its influence on Buddhism was so great that one of its schools was called *Yogācāra*.

---

[1] We should better say *Sāṁkhya* Age, for the very existence of Kapila is doubted. See Keith, o.c., p. 488.

[2] This Patañjali is not to be confused with Patañjali of the *Mahābhāṣya*. See Keith, o.c., p. 490. Keith says that the germs of *Yoga* practices, meditation, etc., can be found in all religions, even in Buddhism and Jainism, though it is closely allied with *Sāṁkhya*.

But it was the *Nyāya* system that wielded greater influence on the curriculum of the students than either the *Yoga* or the *Vaiśeṣika*. Than the *Nyāya* had a great hold upon the students' mind can be seen from the fact that "*Nyāya* is still a favourite study in India, and we have students from Kashmere and Rajputana in Navadvipa in Bengal, living in the houses of their teacher and pursuing their studies for years together, in the very same way, in which students among the Magadhas and Aṅgas and Kośalas and Videhas pursued their studies when Gautama, the

---

1. Dutt, *Ancient India*, p. 320.
2. Cf. Keith, *o.c.*, p. 400, who calls *yoga* "theistic *Sāṁkhya*."
3. Cf. Śankara. *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*, adhyāya II, pāda, 1, sūtra 3 : "*Yena tu aṁśena na virudhyete, teneṣṭameva Sāṁkhyayoga Smṛtyoḥsāvakāśtvam.*"

   "And we quite acknowledge that the *Sāṁkhyayoga smṛtis*, in that portion where they do not contradict the *Veda*, to have a claim to authoritativeness."
4. We have purposely refrained from ascribing the authorship of the system to Gotama or Akṣapāda as done by Dutt (*o.c.*, p. 324) as their very existence is doubted by modern scholars, though even Chinese and Japanese sources attribute the inception of it to Akṣapāda. See Keith, *o.c.*, p. 482 ; M.M.H.P. Sastri, *J.A.S. B.*, N.S.I. 1905, p. 177. This much, however, is certain that the *Nyāya Sūtra* representing earlier thoughts probably developed in the 1st century A.D., Keith, *o.c.*, p. 483.

logician lived and taught."[1] Even today the Benaras Hindu University awards special prize to a student, who shows proficiency in *Nyāya*.

We do not propose to go into the system itself, but will content ourselves with the changes it brought upon the existing curriculum.

The religious side of the original system was not much developed, but its technical side which deals with the subjects to be discussed, namely, the various *Pramāṇas*, etc., was greatly exploited by the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu pandits. Dinānga and Dharmakīrti among the Buddhist made various improvements in Logic.[2] Dinānga, for instance, reduced the number of *Pramāṇas* to only two.[3] Siddhasena Divākara[4] composed many manuals in Logic, in which he sought to refute the Buddhist logicians. *Nyāya*, more properly *Tarka*, was used by propounders and propagandists of different religious philosophies—the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu, to attack their opponents' system.

Logic has always attracted the student-world not only in India but even in Europe of the 10th and 11th centuries. "The one stimulating and interesting morsel" writes Rashdall,[5] "which the monastic teacher could place before the hungry intellect of the inquiring student was a morsel of Logic." Logic, however, was not studied for its own sake. The student had some higher ideal before him and that ideal was the realisation of the truth or true knowledge. Here we find that the Indian student had something in common with his European brother. Let us see by what steps, the student, who embarked upon the study of Logic, gained his ideal. "Yet no sooner does he approach it," continues the same author,[6] that the student finds himself led by imperceptible steps from

---

1. Dutt, *o.c.*, p. 324.
2. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 180.
3. See Sastri, *J.R.A.S*, N.S. 1, 1905.
4. Siddhasena Divākara, *Nyāyāvatāra*.
5. Rashdall, *o.c.*, p. 38.
6. Rashdall, *o.c.*, p. 38.

Logic into Physics and from Physics into Metaphysics and from Metaphysics into Theology." *Nyāya* system had no other object than this. For among other things, in the list of things to be proved, we find such things as Soul and Emancipation.[1] This, in fact, was the ultimate goal of all systems of Logic that sprung after Gotama. The Jaina[2] manuals of Logic set forth the same aim, the goal to be realized.

Nyāya thus completely revolutionised the old curriculum of the previous ages. It became an integral part of the new curriculum of the students.

The other system, *Vaiśeṣika* was propounded by Kaṇāda.[3] The date of his birth is not known, but he flourished in, as Dutt calls it, the "Rationalistic Period."[4] The creation and destruction of the Universe were here explained in a more or less scientific way in latter times *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* went hand in hand with *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga*. The influence of this system can be measured from the fact that since its advent in the field of philosophies, it drew attention of sympathetic as well as hostile students. It became a target of attack for both the Buddhists and the Vedāntins. All the Buddhist philosophers of the succeeding age, beginning with Nāgārjuna, even including Hiuen Tsiang,[5] thought it worth their while to refute it, while it met with the most severe and crushing criticism at the hands of Śaṅkara, the great Vedāntin.[6]

A system of philosophy, therefore, which aroused so much interest among the philosophers must have found a place in the curriculum of the then student.

---

[1] See Abhyankar, *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*, lines 30-33, p. 237,

[2] Siddhsena Divakara, *o.c.*, *Kārikās*, 27-28.

[3] Keith thinks that Kaṇāda is a nickname ; he thinks that the rise of the *Sūtras* is contemporaneous with that of the Nyāya. *o.c.*, p. 483. It is not a little surprising that the present atomic science was foreseen—albeit in its primitive form—by an Indian thinker nearly 2000 years ago.

[4] Dutt *o.c.*, p. 310.

[5] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, pp. 161-164.

[6] Śaṅkara *o.c.*, *adhyāya* II, *pāda* 2, *sūtras* 11-17.

After this survey of the Neo-Brāhmaṇic systems and their contributions to the old curricula, we can now revert to the consideration of Buddhist philosophy and its contribution to the students' curriculum.

In the opening centuries of the Christian era a Buddhist revival had set in, if we may use that term. For up till now the energy of the Buddhist monks was directed only to the propagation of the new faith. They were content to inculcate the obvious meaning of what Buddha said. But, in this period, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., we come across such distinguished writers as Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, who discerned some deeper meaning in Buddha's preachings and founded or popularised a new form of Buddhism called Mahāyāna, and gave it a philosophy named *Mādhyamika*. The seeds of Mahāyāna may have been sown by the *Mahāsaṁghikā* School in the 3rd century B.C., but the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna gained currency in the times of Nāgārjuna, that is to say, in the later half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries A..D.[1]

The reasons for a new interpretation of Buddhism were some inherent defects in the old Buddhism, now called Hīnayāna, by the champions of the new faith, probably as a term of contempt.

These defects according to its greatest expounded—Nāgārjuna—were not only philosophical, but also religious. Though, he says that "the aim of Buddhism is only one, the destruction of suffering and attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, the Salvation, is of two kinds; one is for the self, the other not only for the self but for all creatures. Therefore, though both equally claim *Nirvāṇa* as their ideal, yet there is this difference that one claims it for the self and the other for all creatures. This makes a difference in Buddhism.[2] On another page we read a similar statement about the aims of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. There we are told that "the doctrine of Mahāyāna is full of mercy, while that of Hīnayāna is without mercy. Because the doctrine of Mahāyāna is for all creatures but that of Hīnayāna for the benefit of self only."[1] The philosophical difference according to him was that "the doctrine of Hīnayāna preaches much of impermanence, while the doctrine of Mahāyāna preaches much of *Śūnyatā* of existence."[2] Mahāyāna threw open the doors of Salvation to all. This it did, in the words of Waddell "by developing the supernatural side of Buddhism and its objective symbolism and by substituting good words for the good deeds of the earlier Bodhisats"; also by "Mahāyāna's idealisation of Buddha and his attributes which led to the creation of metaphysical Buddhas and celestial Bodhisats, actively willing and able to save, and to the introduction of innumerable demons and deities as objects of worship, with their attendant idolatry and sacredetalism, both of which departures Buddha had expressly condemned."[3] Buddhism, thus, in its new guise, fell in line with other contemporary religions by the introduction of gods, goddesses and demons, though its "Buddha Theology was the greatest possible contradiction to Agnostic Atheism."[4] In the work so often referred to above and in his other works, for instance, *Daśabhūmivibhāṣāśāstra*, Nāgārjuna, besides popularising his doctrines, attacks Brahmanical and Brahminised systems such as *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga*.[5] Buddhism, thus resucitated, in the sense that it was endowed with a philosophy which it for-

---

[1] Kimura, *Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and Origin of Mahāyāna*, p. 11

[2] *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra*. Wang. Bundle, Vol. V, pp. 105 ab. referred to by Kimura, *o.c.*, p. 164.

---

1. 79th Fasciculi, *o.c.*, *ibid.*, Vol. 4. p. 107b. Kimura, *o.c.*, p. 163.
2. 69th Fasciculi, *o.c.*, *ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 46-a.
3. Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 11-12.
4. Coomaraswami, *o.c.*, p. 227.
5. Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* has been recently published by Tucci. See *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, G.O.S., XLIX. In it, "Nāgārjuna explains the fundamental tenets of the Śūnyavāda refuting the objections raised against him by his opponents, heretics as well as Hīnayānists."

merly lacked, carried on the fight against the aforesaid systems and many others. Numerous works, refuting the Hīnayāna doctrines were written.

Some of the rare early Mahāyāna works by Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Asaṅga, such as *Pratitya-Samutpādahṛdaya*, *Akṣara-śataka*, *Abhidharma-kośa-Kārikā*, and *Abhidharma-samuccaya* were discovered by Prof. V.V. Gokhale of Poona, edited and published. (2500 *Years of Buddhism*, pp. 420-21).

Āryadeva, another exponent of *Mādhyamika* philosophy and illustrious follower of Nāgārjuna, assailed *Sāṁkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and 20 other heretical schools in a work called "the explanation of *Nirvāṇa* by heretical and Hīnayāna Schools mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*.[1] Another of his works, *Ṣataśāstra* has been recently published by Tucci. In his introduction Tucci says,[2] "It is a polemical work, the scope of which is to establish the exact doctrine of the *Śūnya* after refuting their views. The criticism is not only directed against *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Sāṁkhyas* but also against the various Hīnayāna Schools. Together with the works of Nāgārjuna this is one of the most important texts for the study of the *Mādhyamikā* doctrine. And in fact in China and Japan it was considered as one of the fundamental authorities by the school of the "three śāstras", so called because it based its teachings upon the *Mūlamādhyamika-kārikā*, the *Dvādaśanikāyaśāstra* and our text".

Yet another doctrine was propounded in Buddhism by Maitreyanātha. While calling himself a Mahāyānist he still disagreed with Nāgārjuna. Whereas the latter was out and out a Nihilist and a believed in All-Void, the former maintained the objects had no real existence but in our mind; that only our ideas were real and everything else unreal. This doctrine is often called "Alayavijñāna", and is popularly known as Yogācāra. Scholars were doubtful about the historicity of Maitreyanātha but it is now proved from the colophon of *Abhisamayālaṁkārakārikā*, a commentary on *Pañcaviṁśatisahasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* which is ascribed to Maitreyanātha.[1]

---

[1] Su. Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 58b, of *Chinese Tripiṭaka*; Kimura, *o.c.*, p. 24.

[2] See Tucci, *o.c.*, p. XIV.

The doctrine, however, found its complete evolution at the hands of Asaṅga. In fact, he is regarded by many scholars as the author of the doctrine. It is possible, as Waddell thinks, that the pantheistic cult of *Yoga*, or the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit, and practices of abstract meditation and other metaphysical practices were grafted on the theistic Mahāyāna by Asaṅga.[2] The principal works composed by him are:

(1) *The Sapta-daśa-bhūmi-śāstra*
(2) *The Mahāyāna-sūtra-upadeśa*
(3) *The Mahāyāna-saṁparigraha-śāstra.*

While Buddhism was thus developing on its philosophical side, the followers of other philosophical systems were not sitting idle. Vārṣagaṇya, Īśvarakṛṣṇa and Vindhyavāsa,[3] restated the *Sāṁkhya* doctrine, while Vatṣāyana wrote commentaries on the *Nyāya Sūtras.* But in opposition to the *Sāṁkhya-Saptati* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, Vasubandhu composed the *Parmārtha Saptati*, and destroyed his tenets and thus reconverted King Bālāditya (Narasiṁhagupta) from Sāṁkhya to Buddhism. Vasubandhu lived in A.D. 420-500. Vasu-

---

1. Kimura, *o.c.*, p. 170.
2. Waddell, o.c., pp. 13-14.
3. Vindhyavāsa was perhaps the same as Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the former being called so as he stayed in the Vindhya mountains. See Takakusu, "Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu" *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 47 ; also Keith, *o.c.*, p, 488.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 47. Scholars are divided on Vasubandhu's date. Bhattacharya (Tattvasaṅgraha, G.O.S., XXX, foreword, p. LXVI) would like to place him in A.D., 280-360. Whereas Winternitz (*I.H.Q.*) March 1933, p. 5,n) seems to be inclined to place him, with Prof. Ui, in A.D. 320-400.

bandhu's chief contribution was the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya* in which he condensed the topics dealt with in the *Vibhāṣās* (commentaries). This was regarded as one of the classic texts of Buddhism, and was studied by monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. In China *Kośa* schools were started, and it (is) was being studied there as well as in Japan. (*HCIP.*, III, p. 384; See also S. Dutt. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India*, pp. 280-82.) Besides the work last mentioned, he commented on the works following Mahāyāna.

(1) The *Avataṁsaka.*

(2) The *Nirvāṇa.* (Nanjio's 1206, 1207, 1209)

(3) The *Saddharma Puṇḍarika.* (Nanjio's No. 1236, 1237).

(4) The *Prajñāpāramitā.* (Nanjio's No. 1231, 1168).

The under-mentioned were compiled by him:—

4375

(1) The *Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi.* (Nanjio's Nos. 1215, 1238, 1168).

(2) The *Mahāyānasaṁparigrahavyākhyā.*

(3) The *Nature of the Ratna Traya.*

(4) The *Gate of the Nectar.*

His *Abhidharma-kośa* represents his views on Mahāyāna. Sylvain Levi who had contributed so much to our understanding of Mahāyāna by the discovery of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, later published Vasubandhu's *Viṁśatikā* and *Triṁśatikā*. brought out with Yamaguchi the *Mādhyanta-Vibhāga Sūtra* of Maitreya. These works help in the study of Vijñānavāda and Yogācāra. (*2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 390).

Later his pupil Louis de la Vallee Poussin collaborated in editing *Bodhicaryā vatāra* and other Buddhist works, and later translated into French *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, and the *Vijñapti-mātrātā-siddhi* of Hiuen Tsiang (*Ibid*., p. 391).

Vasubandhu's contribution to Buddhist Logic, we shall speak afterwards.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, thus, made invaluable contribution to the development of Buddhist philosophy. They, it is possible, did all this while residing at Nālandā. Both Asaṅga and Vasubandhu Tārānātha tells us, were great pandits of Nālandā.[1] We have mentioned them here in connection with the rise of the University of Nālandā, simply because they flourished in such a period, 420-500 A.D., that it is possible that they may have been doing all their work just when the University was being recognized officially, by King Śakrāditya (Kumāragupta I) who provided new *saṅghārāmas* for the lodging of students.[2] and that they went to Nālandā, when it had just come into existence.

These works, produced by Nāgārjuna Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and other lesser luminaries of Buddhism were primarily concerned with theology, though tinged in no small measure with philosophy.

But we are told that Nālandā University was famous for the distinguished logicians that it possessed. Consequently, before we speak of Nālandā as a centre of pure Logic, let us pass through that transitional period, during which Logic was still mixed up with philosophy. This whole period has been admirably reviewed by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who says, "Buddhism spread as a faith about the 6th century B.C. But for a long time it remained a pure and simple religion. It was only in the 1st century A.D. that it had its first philosophy. By the time we come to the 4th century

---

1. Tarānātha, *History of Buddhism*, p. 120.
2. Hiuen Tsiang, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Tr. by Beal, II, p. 168.
3. See Vidyabhūṣaṇa, *o.c.*, Introduction, p. XXI,

A.D. we find Buddhism expanding into four distinct philosophical schools."[1] With philosophy had come Logic, which lay dormant and did not play any prominent part.

Let us trace, then the rise and growth of Logic, which in 500 A.D. was completely differentiated from general philosophy.

The real founders of Mediaeval Logic were the Buddhists.[2]

The earliest reference to Logic and an explicit one, is to be found in *Milindapañha* also known as the *Bhikṣusūtra*, the date of which is fixed at about 100 A.D.[3] Next to this work, we come across the works of Nāgārjuna. In his *Mādhyamikakārikā*, which is the first work of the Mādhyamika Philosophy, he occasionally refers to certain technicalities of Logic, such as, the fallacy of the *Sādhyasama* (*Petitio principii*) in Chapter IV.[4] Other works: *Yukti-sastika-kārikā*, *Vigraha-vyāvartanikārikā*, as their very names connote, establish with the help of Logic abstruse and subtle principles of Mādhyamika Philosophy.[5]

In point of time, next to Nāgārjuna comes Āryadeva. His works, too, show that the writer though a philosopher, was greately influenced by Logic. His works are: *Ṣata-Śāstra*, *Bhrama-pramathana-yukti-hetu*, *siddhi*, etc.[6]

---

[1] *See* Vidyabhusana, o.c., p. 78 : cf. also *History of Indian Logic*, p. 270.

[2] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XIX.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61 *History of Indian Logic*, p. 240.

[4] Vidyabhusana, o.c., p. 70 ; *History of Indian Logic*, p. 256.

[5] For Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, see *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, G.O.S., XLIX. Tucci says, "*Vigrahavyāvartanī* has a great bearing upon the history of Indian Logic, since it embodies the criticism of Nāgārjuna relating to the theory of Pramāṇas". *Ibid.*, Preface, II.

[6] See above, p. 19. Tucci has published a *Tarkaśāstra* (See *Ibid*) and he says, "This text has been attributed by some authors of the Chinese canon to Vasubandhu", and though "there are many similarities between this text and *Vādavidhi*" "still there is no definite argument to support the view."

We have already referred to the philosophical works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Among the works composed by these eminent Buddhists Vasubandhu's *Tarka-Śāstra* was perhaps the first regular Buddhist work on Logic. In one of his works called "*Ronki*" in the Chinese language, he maintained that a thesis could be proved by two propositions only, viz., a proposition and a reason, and that, therefore, the necessary terms in a syllogistic inference are only three (i.e., minor, major and the middle term).[1] Unfortunately, these works are lost, otherwise it would have been very instructive and interesting to compare the Buddhist syllogism, as formulated by Vasubandhu, with that of Aristotle. Because, as noted above, the syllogism as formulated by Vasubandhu is similar in many respects to that of Aristotle.

This brings up to Diṅnāga, the first systematic writer on Buddhist Logic, "the Father of Mediaeval Logic" as Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa calls him.[2] Of his contribution to this part of learning, we shall speak in the succeeding chapters. For, according to one view, he lived at a time when the Nālandā University was already founded,[3] and consequently his work must be viewed as of one of the pandits of Nālandā. For a brief and succinct statement of the development of Dialectics and Logic (see S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, p. 264 ff)

It would be, therefore, right to say that Buddhist Logic and philosophy wonderfully enriched the old curriculum of the early Christian era. Instead of the *Vedas*, etc., the student could find something totally new in this revised curriculum. Probably it was for this reason that students in later times flocked in great numbers to the Buddhist institutions.

---

[1] Vidyabhusana, *o.c.*, p. 73-77 ; also *H.I.L.*, p. 268.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 78; Ibid., p. 270. Both Āryadeva and his disciples Mātriceta and Rāhulabhadra have been regarded as the abbots (or Mahāpanditas) of Nālandā by Dr. Dutt (*HCIP.*, Vol. III, p. 356), but this would appear as uncritical, if we think that Nālandā as a University came into existence only in the 5th century A.D.

[3] According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 273, Diṅnāga lived in 500 A.D., Keith, *o.c.*, p. 484, says that he lived probably before 400 A.D.

Having thus surveyed the landmarks in the history of Indian education, we can say that the time was quite ripe for the rise of a University. And it was just at this opportune moment that the University of Nālandā was founded. For, as we have already seen, Indian thought had then reached its culminating point. Almost all the most important and greatest religions and philosophies of India, which really formed the backbone of the ancient Indian education had been propounded and popularised. And no Indian religion and philosophy worth the name have been preached after the rise of Nālandā save perhaps the *Kevalādvaita* of Śaṅkara, *Śuddhādvaita* of Vallabha and *Vāśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja and others. Even these philosophies drew their inspiration from the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahmasūtras* which are, in fact, a critical survey of the existing philosophies.

The University of Nālandā, then, had inherited a very rich legacy from the past. The chapters that follow will show us how it enriched and transmitted this wonderful legacy to the future.

Part II

Transformation of 'Saṅghārāmas' into Temples of Learning

In part I of this chapter we saw that circumstances were favourable for the rise of a University. In this part we have to see how a Buddhist *vihāra* came to be a University. For Nālandā, though a University was, nevertheless, a monastery. And the question naturally asked is: How could a monastery be a centre of learning? For a proper understanding of this question we must, needs first, know what a Buddhist monastery was, and how it came into existence.

In Sanskrit, a monastery is called a "*Saṅghārāma.*"[1] Sometimes the word "*vihāra*" is also used in the same sense. Now, by a "*saṅghārāma*" or a "*vihāra*" we understand a place where *Bhikkhus*, generally Buddhists, lived. "*Ārāmas*" i.e., parks were usually the places where Buddha put up with his disciples.[2] The resting place, where the *saṅgha* stayed, therefore, came to be called a "*saṅghārāma*". These *Bhikkhus* had renounced the world; they were mendicants; their sole purpose in life was to practise and to propagate the religion of Buddha. To India such religious mendicants were not a novel thing. She had them in her Ṛṣis of the Vedic and the Upaniṣadic times, in her *Brahmacārins*, and *Sanyāsins.* It was only the goal which differentiated the Buddhist *Bhikkhus* from the Ṛṣis and others. The object of the latter was to acquire knowledge for themselves. The Buddhist *Bhikkhus* in later times possessed almost similar characteristics when they resided in monasteries and busied themselves with their studies, instead of wandering from place to place.

---

[1] See Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 168.

[2] Jetavana at Śrāvastī, Veluvana at Rājagṛha, Isipatana at Benares were favourite resorts of Buddha. See *Mahāvagga*, VI, 22, 1, 20 and 23, 1 respectively,

Now Buddhist monachism owes its origin to the Buddhist *Saṅgha.* And Buddhist *Saṅgha* has a history of its own.

In the sixth century B.C., when Gotama, the Śākya Prince returned enlightened to this world, there existed many wandering religious *Saṅghas.* The one that is often spoken of in the *Vinaya Texts* was called *Saṅgha* of *Titthiya* schools.[2] The Buddhist Bhikkhus were known as *Śākyaputtiya Samaṇas.* The Buddhist *Saṅgha*, was, perhaps. moulded on this existing one. Especially, the one feature, viz., the rain-retreat which afterwards led to the foundation of monasteries seems to have been borrowed from this School. For we are told in *Mahāvagga* that *Bhikkhus* went on their travels alike during winter, summer and the rainy seasons. For the retreat during rainy season had not yet been instituted by the Blessed One.[3] The story of how Buddha happened to prescribe the rain-retreat is very interesting. The ascetics of the *Titthiya* School observed the rain-retreat, while the Buddhist *Bhikkhus*

---

[1] An "ārāma" it appears from the *Vinaya Texts* connoted a resting place of the following: "Anātha Pindika told the Kumāra, 'Sir, let me have your garden to make an Ārāma on it', and then constructed a building over it for Buddha and his followers". *Çullavagga*, VI, 4, 9—10.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, II, 1-2.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 1.

did not. The people began murmuring that the Buddhist *Bhikkhus* by wandering even in the monsoon, crushed the green herbs and destroyed vegetable and many other small lives. The matter was reported to Buddha. Since then, Buddha prescribed that the *Bhikkhus* should enter upon the *Vassa*[1]. Buddhaghoṣa, the commentator upon the *Vinaya Texts* tells us how this ceremony was gone through. "They are to look after their *Vihāra*" says he, "to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as paying reverence to sacred shrines, etc., and to say loudly once, or twice, or thrice: 'I enter upon *Vassa* in this *Vihāra* for three months'. Thus they are to enter upon *Vassa*."[2] In this custom of staying at one fixed place, we find the seeds of the future *saṅghārāmas* and *vihāras*.

We shall here deal only with the growth of the *vihāras*, etc. leaving aside the various rules and regulations, ceremonies and observances relating to the *vihāras* and their inmates.

They resorted to the *vihāras* only during the rainy season. Otherwise the Bhikkhus had no dwelling places. They lived in the woods, at the foot of trees, and on hill sides. But we learn from *Cullavagga* that Buddha afterwards at the request of the *Setthi* (a rich merchant) of Rājagṛha allowed the following abodes: *vihāra*, *addhayogas* storied dwellings, attics, and caves.[3] Whether Buddha allowed so many abodes only during the rain-retreat or in other seasons also is not quite clear from the text. But if Buddha permitted the use of these dwellings during other seasons, it must, we think, be for a very short period. For even though the dwelling places had come into existence, it must have taken a pretty long time to give a complete go-by to the ideal of hermitical life. Some centuries must have elapsed before the *āvāsas* came to be organized and had a distinct existence.

---

1. *Ibid.*, III, 1.
2. *Ibid.*, n.
3. *Cullavagga*, VI, 1-2.

We cannot say definitely when this ideal was given up, but a beginning was made during the lifetime of Buddha himself. Dutt's conclusions are founded on certain rules of *Cullavagga*[1] which deal with the allotment of *senasanas* (seats) in an *āvāsa*. The general rule is that the seats are to be retained during the period of the *Vassa*. "In accordance with this rule, there are two regular occasions for the allotment of seats, the commencement of the earlier and that of the later *Vassa*." Continuing Dutt says, "Curiously enough, a third, viz. the day after the *Pāvarana*, called *Autara muttaka*, is recognized when seats are allotted for the next rain-retreat in anticipation. This *Autara muttaka* allotment would be quite superfluous, if residence at a monastery were really limited to the period of the rain-retreat. The *āvāsas*, from being shelters during the rain-retreat, became places of domicile, and hence seats had to be alloted not only for three or four months of the year, but also for the remaining period. The modification of the wandering habit of the monks necessitated the second rule. The fiction, however, viz. that *āvāsas* were only for the rain-retreat and nothing more and that the *Bhikkus* should be homeless beyond that period, is piously kept up. The allotment which is really made for the non-Vassa period is said to be made in advance for the next Vassa period, which is absurd, considering that, for that period, another allotment is provided for."[2]

The purpose of the *vihāras* and other dwelling places in the words of Buddha was this : "To give *vihāras* to the *Saṅgha*, where, in safety and in peace, to meditate and think at ease, the Buddha calls the best of gifts. Let then the able man, regarding his own weal, have pleasant monasteries built, and lodge their learned men."[3]

---

[1] Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 130.

[2] Dutt, o.c., p. 130.

[3] *Cullavagga*, VI, 1., 5.

The vision of Buddha indeed came true. People carried out to the letter his wish. Kings, wealthy merchants and even common people constructed *vihāras* and carved out monasteries in mountains. The *vihāras* of Nālandā, and Vikramaśilā, and the caves at Ellora, Karla, and Nasik and specially Kanheri,[1] are living examples of the fact. A small inscription on a pillar in the *chaitya* cave at Karla says that the expenses of its construction were given by a particular person. For this, it appears that where a *vihāra* could not be built with the financial help of one person, many persons combined together, each donating something to the building fund of the project. Hence, as we said above, even common people built *vihāras*. Some of these *vihāras*, we know, became famous centres of learning and abodes of distinguished professors.

Buddha, we learn from *Vinaya Texts*, had no particular *Vihāra* of his own. He usually put up in an *ārāma* of some "*Setthi*", i.e. rich merchant, or sometimes in the *ārāmas* of King Bimbisāra. We have observed that Buddha permitted the use of *vihāras*, *addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics and caves.[2] If there are some who think that these abodes, meant as they were for the use of *Bhikkhus*, were nothing more than huts, there can be no greater misconception of the Buddhist habitations. Buddha, we shall see in a future Chapter, was very liberal in his views as regards dress, etc. He even allowed the use of silk robes. In the case of *vihāras* and *saṅghārāmas*, the same broad-mindedness and reforming zeal are visible. Instead of huts of Puritan simplicity, we find descriptions of *vihāras* in *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, which simply astound us. The *vihāras* were full-fledged houses. A verandah, covered terraces, inner verandhas, overhanging eaves, store-rooms, and service halls gradually came to be built as the number of *Bhikkhus* increased.[1] Furniture was also luxurious; cushions, chairs, armchairs, sofas. Bedsteads were used, provided they were given as a gift to the *saṅgha* or provided they became the property of the *saṅgha* without any compensation. Even so early as *pattimokkha* which was, perhaps, the earliest Buddhist compendium of *Vinaya* rules[2], a bed-stead, chair, mat, stool, etc., formed the furniture of the cell of a *vihāra*.[3] There was a ceiling usually of cloth, which prevented any dust or serpent, etc., from falling from the roof.[4] Another fact which leads us to conclude that *vihāras* were much better, more spacious and better decorated than the *Ṛṣiārśarmas* is that the walls of *vihāras* were coloured red, and white washed, while the floor was in black colour.[5] Roofs of *vihāras* were usually made of bricks, stone and cement.[6] That is to say, they were just like terraces. If we hear that straw also was used for preparing the roof, we must think that it was for the purpose of temporary structures. Anātha Piṇḍika's description of an *ārāma*, i. e., *saṅghārāma* in *Cullavagga*[7] will stand comparison with any college of to-day.

---

[1] From the construction of many of the caves at Kanheri and elsewhere it appears that in the earliest caves barest necessities of the *Bhikkhus* were kept in view, viz. a tolerably small cell with provision for sleeping.

[2] *Cullavagga*, VI, 1-2.

Originally the *ārāmas* had no fence. But, afterwards the Blessed One allowed the Bhikkhus to have a fence made of bamboo-sticks, thorns or a ditch.[8] But this was only the thin edge of the wedge, for the *Bhikkhus* pressed their demands still further. As the *vihāras* became permanent places of residence, the want of *Bhikkhus* increased. To protect these *vihāras*, which had now become rich with

---

1. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 5, 6.
2. *Ibid.*, VI.
3. Introduction to the *Vinaya Texts* from Pali, *S.B.E*, XII, p. IX.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
5. *Cullavagga*. VI, 3, 4
6. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 1
7. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 10.
8. *Ibid.*, VI, 4, 10.
9. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 10.

provisions not for a day but for months, they were fenced round by a wood, brick, or a stone-wall[1], as we find in the case of Nālandā[2] and the Odantapuri *Vihāras*.

We have seen how *vihāras* and *saṅghārāmas* sprung up. We are told that the *vihāras* were built mainly for two purposes.[3] First, that the Buddhist *Saṅgha* may meditate in peace and safety. Secondly, that learned men may lodge in the *vihāras*. Gradually, however, the second object became the only object. As *vihāras* became repositories of learned men, they began to attract students from various parts of the land whose sole object was the acquisition of knowledge.

Before we trace the change that was brought about in the nature of monasteries, let us examine the functions of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*, which also underwent a transformation, along with a change in the nature of monasteries.

Apart from meditation, the Buddhist *Saṅgha* had certain other ceremonies to perform, in accordance with the rules laid down by Buddha.[4] They—the *Bhikkhus*—met on the 8th, 14th and 15th of the month to recite Dhamma.[5] Then they also met to perform the *Uposatha* ceremony. But the most common meeting of the *Bhikkhus* was for the confession of an offence that was committed by a *Bhikkhu* or *Bhikkhus*, since their last meeting. For all these ceremonies, Buddha had laid down certain rules. *Uposatha* could only be performed by the complete fraternity of the *Bhikkhus*.[6] Again, it could be performed in a *vihāra*, a cave, or a house, but not in successive cells of the *Bhikkhus*.[7] Another of Buddha's regulation was that for every official act to be done by the *Saṅgha*.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 8.

[2] See Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, 170.

[3] *Cullavagga*, VI, 1, 5.

[4] *Mahāvagga*, IX.

[5] Some of the ceremonies, as *Upaṁpāsada*, etc., were still in vogue when I-Tsing was at Nālandā. See I-Tsing, o.c., p. 103.

[6] *Mahāvagga*, II, 5, 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 8, 1.

consent of all the *Bhikkhus* was necessary, so much so that even a sick *Bhikkhu* was asked to declare his views, while seeing his *pariśuddhi*, i.e., his purity.[1]

Now to perform all these ceremonies, for the recital of *Patimokkha*, to performing the *Uposatha* ceremony, and even to put questions about *Vinaya*, a *Bhikkhu* was to be appointed a president for the occasion, by the *saṅgha* or by himself.[2] Only a competent *Bhikkhu* was made a president. Apart from the president of the *saṅgha* Buddha had fixed a certain number of *Bhikkhus* with whose help the official duty called "*Saṅghakamma*" could be discharged. The minimum for such an act was fixed at four.[3] Moreover, the act was to be done in the manner prescribed. There was first, what is called "*Natti*", i.e., resolution or proposal of the resolution; second, "*Anusavanna*", i.e., proclamation of the proposed act; third, consent of the members expressed by their silence. The *Vinaya Texts*, in addition, give many more details, for example, the procedure when there would be a difference of opinion, etc. Since it would lead one into unnecessary details, it would be advisable to refrain from going further into the matter.

The Buddhist *Saṅgha*, with its president and assembly, was something like a modern "Republican Church Government".[4] There was never a supreme head like an abbot, as far as the early history of the *Saṅgha* goes.

A change, however, was coming over the monasteries. For, when we come to Nālandā in the 5th century and Vikramaśilā in the 10th century, we learn that Śīlabhadra[5] and Atiṣa were the abbots of these universities. But this departure from the express order of Buddha[1] was perhaps due to another change that had come over the monasteries. This we have referred to previously. Monasteries were now no more shelters for meditation on the teachings of Buddha. With the reformation in the Buddhist religious and philosophical principles in the shape of Śūnyavāda, etc., in the centuries that followed the death of Buddha, more particularly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era, the pursuit of secular knowledge (which was almost repugnant to the very purpose and spirit of Buddhism) became an ideal of the monasteries, which had previously stood primarily for the purpose of propagating Buddhism. "Buddhist institutions" as Keay puts it,[2] did become to some extent places of general learning. "This is quite evident from the records of the Chinese pilgrims, and from the curriculum of Buddhist institutions like Nālandā and others. I-Tsing,[3] for instance is quite explicit on this point, when he says, The white-orbed (laymen) who come to the residence of a priest, and read chiefly Buddhist scriptures with the intention of becoming one day tonsured and black-robbed, are called 'children' (*Mānava*). Those who (coming to a priest) want to learn secular literature only, without having any intention of quitting the world, are called 'students' (*Brahmacārin*). These two groups of persons (though residing in a monastery) have to subsist at their own expense." Since the monasteries were being converted into educational institutions, a person who would be the head or the abbot thereof was absolutely necessary to control the students.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 2, 2-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 15, 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 26, 1.

[4] Dutt, *o.c.*, p. 137.

[5] See Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 112.

---

[1] Note that Buddha had said "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge...1" Tr. by Rhys David, reference taken from Dutt, o.c., p. 142.

[2] *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 94.

[3] o.c., pp. 105-106.

It is interesting to compare the changes which the monasteries of Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries underwent with those of pre-Christian and post-Christian India. Both in Europe and in India monasteries had become Temples of Learning. But, whereas in Europe, educational activity passed out of the hands of the monks to those of secular clergy, with the spread of knowledge in the outside world, in India the monks were rather fortunate in retaining it. They saw, as we noticed above, what was coming, and they responded to growing needs. Therefore, instead of being swept away totally by the on-coming wave of reforms, they deemed it wiser to relax the rules of their order. The doors of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* which were open before only to those who had forsaken the world, were now thrown open to the students as well, who, if they chose, were at liberty to leave the monastery and embrace once more the life of a householder, after their education was over. It is in this transformation of the monasteries that we find the seeds of the University of Nālandā.

CHAPTER III

The rise of the University and its growth under kings of various dynasties

A marked feature of Indian history is the number of traditional and legendary accounts. Kings, of however small and insignificant a place, claim a supernatural descent, usually from the Sun or the Moon ; as with kings, so with places. They also have their theory of divine or supernatural origin. It is not we, moderns, that are struck by these accounts. Even the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang was evidently surprised with the name Nālandā, that in the very beginning of his account of the place, he discusses the various theories as to the origin of the name, leaving aside its more attractive features. He says, "Going north from this, 30 li or so, we come to Nālandā *saṅghārāma*. The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this *saṅghārāma*, in the middle of an *āmra* (mango) grove, there is a tank. The *Nāga* of this was called Nālandā. By the side of it is built the *saṅghārāma*, which therefore takes the name of the Nāga"[1].

Here ends the one legendary account of the place. Proceeding to give the second account, which he thinks to be the true one, he says, "But the truth is that Tathāgata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva here and became the king of a great country and established his capital in the land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was styled 'charity without intermission', and the *saṅghārāma* was called in perpetuation of his name."[1]

---

[1] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 167.

The reason why Hiuen Tsiang considers the latter account as true can be easily explained. He was a devout Buddhist. And when he wrote this account he only voiced the feelings of the Buddhist who had invented a legend to explain the name of Nālandā. The story sounds like one of the *Jātaka* tales which describe the previous lives of Buddha. We cannot, however, give credence to this explanation, for the simple reason that even when Buddha was alive, the place was called by that name.[2]

Let us now examine the first account. I-Tsing, another Chinese traveller who visited India after Hiuen Tsiang, thinks that Nālandā derived its name from the Nāga Nanda.[3] We cannot understand why the travellers should disagree regarding the name of the Nāga. We think I-Tsing is giving the original name of the Nāga, whereas Hiuen Tsiang gives the name which Nāga came to acquire afterwards. For we often say, "He is from this place or this is from such and such a place." The Nāga, therefore, must have, in course of time come to be, called "the Nāga of Nālandā" or "Nālandā Nāga". But this discussion does not lead us anywhere. At least it does not tell us how the place came to be called Nālandā, though incidentally we have suggested a theory as to the name of the Nāga.

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 167-168.
2. See *Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttānta* in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 87-89 ; where Buddha says, "Come Ananda, let us go to Nālandā."
3. Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., XIII, p. 571,

That there was a mango grove, a tank and perhaps the Nāga too, is beyond doubt. For Buddha in his tours always stayed under a grove of trees and Nālandā must have had also one. As to the tank, etc., we have the testimony of General Cunningham, who examined the place and carried on some excavations there in the latter part of the last century, that "There is still existing immediately to the south of the ruined monastery a small tank called Kargidya Pokhar, which exactly answers to the position of the Nālandā tank and is identical part of the Nāga"[1].

To resume the history of the name Nālandā, Prof. Beal has put forward one etymological analysis of the name suggested by Hiuen Tsiang's interpretation[2]. In a footnote on the phrase 'charity without intermission', he says, "The word Nālandā would thus appear to be derived from *Na-alam-dā*, not giving enough" or not having enough to give. But this interpretation rather goes against the one given by the traveller, though it is quite correct literally. If, however, we take '*na-alam-da*' as an interrogative sentence, requiring a positive or affirmative reply : *alam dātum* (for *dā*) viz. that there is sufficient to give, we can say that the phrase *na-alam-dātum* (for *dā*) though negative, emphatically supplies positive evidence that (the place) was (rich,) enough to provide (for all). The position of '*na*' in the sentence *alam-dātum na* is not so objectionable, because it can as well be put in front : *na-alam-dātum*, because in Sanskrit the position of words does not matter so long as the sense is conveyed by an emphasis put on the words, which in the present case would naturally be put on the word *na*.

In short, the name conveyed the idea that the place was rich and prosperous.

Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk who visited Nālandā in A.D. 1234, gives the name as "Nālandā" which meant in

---

[1] *A.S.R.*, I, p. 30.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang *o.c.*, II, 168.

Tibetan, "Lord of Men", and adds that it was built by a former Rājā, and because of it, it was given this name.[1]

Hiranand Sastri thought that the name was derived from "*Nāla*" meaning "lotus-stalks", because Nālandā then, as even today, had a large number of lotus-ponds. It would, then mean "the giver of lotus-stalks."[2]

The early history of the place bears sufficient testimony to its claim to be a rich and prosperous city. Various Buddhist texts tell us that the place in the days of Buddha was a prosperous village.[3] To take but one illustration, it is said that Lepa, one of the citizens of Nālandā, was prosperous, famous, rich and had large houses, beds, seats, vehicles and chariots, abounding in riches, gold and silver, possessed of useful and necessary things, owning many male and female slaves, cows, buffaloes, and sheep.[4] Even the Great Buddha had partaken of Lepa's hospitality, Lepa offered his rich bathing halls to the Enlightened Śākya prince, who gladly accepted them and delivered a long discourse which had the effect of converting him to Buddhism. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* also tells us that Nālandā contained many hundreds of buildings.[5]

We have dismissed Hiuen Tsiang's theory because it reminds us of many of the Jātaka tales which are pure inventions of the devout Buddhists. But if we eschew the mythical portion (viz. that which refers to the previous life of Buddha as a great king who gave to all in charity without intermission)

---

1. *Roerich. Biography*, p. 90.
2. Shastri, 1942, p. 4
3. *Sum. Vīl.*, p. 35 ; *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 377 ; *Dīgh. Nik*, I, Sutt. II,
4. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, S.B.E., XLV. p. 420.
5. o.c., p. 420.

and keep in mind that Nālandā was a rich place, as has been proved by its past history, then we say that Nālandā derived its name because of its hospitality and charity.

To resume the early history of Nālandā, Nālandā, before it became an educational centre, had already been imbued with the holy memories of Buddha. Even before Buddha, it was the place where the Great Mahāvīra met Gosala. Among the many places where Buddha carried on his religious propaganda Nālandā held a unique position. Many a time, with his favourite disciple Ānanda, he had visited the place and stayed at the Pavarika mango-grove. And this Ānanda thought that Nālandā was a fit place for Buddha's Nirvāṇa and not Pāṭaliputra. From this Samaddar concludes: "So far as importance went, Nālandā was superior to Pāṭaliputra, and it may therefore be taken for granted that Nālandā was older than Pāṭaliputra"[1]. We know nothing about Nālandā from this period, that is to say, after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, which took place in 483 B.C.,[2] down to the seventh century A.D., when Hiuen Tsiang visited India and recorded his account of Nālandā. It is only Tārānātha who wrote the *History of Buddhism* about 1500 A.D., that enables us to know what happened in the centuries that followed the death of Buddha. He observes, "Here in Nālandā was in former times the birth-place of the venerable Śāriputta and it is also the place, where he with 80,000 *arhats* attained *Nirvāṇa*. In course of time only the *caitya* of the venerable Sāriputta remained and it was at this place that King Aśoka gave great offerings to the gods and erected a great Buddhist temple. In this way the first founder of the Nālandā *Vihāra* was Aśoka.[3] Thus antiquity, glamour and sacredness claimed by all ancient things are claimed for the Nālandā University by attributing its rise to Aśoka.

---

1. Samaddar, *Glories of Magadha*, p. 126.
2. Coomaraswami, *o.c.*, p. 9.
3. Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, p. 72.

To know about Nālandā in the century after Christ, we have again to refer to Tārānātha. But he too mentions a tradition according to which Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva (c. 100 A.D.) were the forerunners among those who took interest in the educational institutions of the place.

Yet to mention another tradition given by Tārānātha, Suviṣṇu, a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, is said to have established 108 temples at Nālandā in order to prevent any decline of Abhidhamma[1]. Since the tradition mentions Nāgārjuna, it cannot be older than the 2nd century A.D.

The probability of this tradition we shall discuss after referring to Fa-hien, who toured India in the early years of the fifth century A.D. Now he does not mention Nālandā. But he says, "A *yojana*, south-west from this place, brought them to the village of Nala, where Sāriputta was born, and to which also he returned and attained here his *Parinirvāṇa*. Over the spot there was built a *topa*,[2] which is still in existence"[3]. Fa-hien, though he does not mention Nālandā, his description of the place exactly tallies with that gathered from other sources, and the question arises whether he speaks of Nālandā or some other place near it.

Now this Nala was one *yojana*, i.e. seven miles from Giryek (old Rājagṛha) and the same distance from the new Rājagṛha; and as Nālandā was also one *yojana* from Rājagṛha one is tempted to identify Nala with Nālandā. But we learn from Fa-hien himself that Nala was the place where Sāriputta was born and had died. And it appears that this Nala was no other than Nālaka, where, according to *Sudassana Jātaka*,[4]

---

1. *Ibid.*
2. '*Topa*' is a Singalese word for '*Stūpa*'
3. Fa-hien, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Trans. by Legge, p. 81.
4. *S.B.E.*, XI, p. 238.
   Tārānātha's account is based on that of Fa-hien, but he mistakes Nālandā for Nālaka,

Sāriputta was born. It is thus clear that Fa-hien's Nala was not Nālandā as alleged, but Nalaka, an unimportant village, *Nalagrāma*, as the *Jātaka* expressly calls it. From this it follows that because Fa-hien did not visit Nālandā, he did not give us a good account of the place. And the reason why he does not give the correct name of Nālandā, was that he did not visit Nālandā at all. For had he really visited it, we are unable to understand, why he should not give us the correct name of Nālandā when the place was known for centuries after Buddha by that name. Why do not Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing make any mistake in giving the correct name of the place? It cannot be said that Nālandā had become so insignificant that it had lost its original name when Śakrāditya and his suit happened to see it and think of building monasteries there. On the contrary, the very fact that Śakrāditya (Kumāragupta I) thought of erecting *saṅghārāmas* at Nālandā speaks in favour of Nālandā. The great temple by Aśoka, and other smaller ones by Brāhmaṇa Suviṣṇu, and the fact that in Nālandā Buddha had passed many happy days in the vast and rich house of Lepa—all these—must have attracted Śakrāditya to Nālandā. We cannot, therefore, agree with those scholars who say that the tradition of Suviṣṇu building 108 temples is not authentic, because Fa-hien who visited India for the first time in 404 A.D., calls it simply the village of Nala[1]. For, as we have already shown, the village visited by Fa-hien was probably Nālaka, and not Nālandā. To the objection that Nālandā, if it was famous when Fa-hien toured through Magadha, containing as it did 108 temples and a great temple of Aśoka, why should not Fa-hien mention them, we reply that the argument from silence is not a convincing argument. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to Chandragupta's court, for instance, shows such surprising ignorance about Mauryan India that if we were to believe in him we would have to unlearn much of what we know of that period.

---

[1] See Kimura, for instance, Shifting of the Centre of Buddhism in India, *J.D.L., Cal. Uni.*, p. 36.

While reading the account of Fa-hien's and Hiuen Tsiang's travels in India, we should note one point. It is this, Fa-hien's accounts of the places visited are often quite sketchy and brief. Many of his narratives contain nothing but what he had heard, and only reveal his love for repeating the legends. While describing Patna, he mentions some Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna monasteries. With the exception of general remarks about its appearance, etc , how brief is his description.[1] Hiuen Tsiang, unlike his predecessors, seems to note down whatever he sees, apart from what he gathers from hearsay. He gives a detailed and minute description of King Pulakeśī II and his people.[2] It may be that Fa-hien had not the same opportunities as Hiuen Tsiang had, partly because he was the first traveller from China and partly because his stay in India was very short and his tour not so comprehensive as that of his successor.

With due deference to the various scholars who based their conclusions on Fa-hien's silence about Nālandā, we submit that it is no use jumping to the conclusion that the tradition is wrong, or that the things did not exist, because Fa-hien or anybody else did not tell us that we expected him to tell us. Probably he did not see the things.

By this time it must have been apparent that Nālandā possessed some points in its favour which would make it a suitable place for the foundation of a Buddhist University.

To sum up:

Nālandā was often visited by Buddha and his disciples and many discussions were held here with other religious sects.[3]

---

1. Fa-hien, o.c., p. 78.
2. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, pp. 255-257.
3. N. Dutt, o.c., p. 115.

Here the great Mahāvīra, the Jain Tīrthāṅkara met Gośāla.[1]

So the place long before the Christian era was noted as a great religious centre. And it continued to enjoy this fame even in the centuries after the advent of Christianity, because, as we have said previously, the place where all the philosophical discussions between Nāgārjuna and others were carried on, was Nālandā.

Long before Śakrāditya, Aśoka had chosen this place for building a temple and a *vihāra*. Moreover, Nālandā was very near, not more than 7 miles, from Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha in the time of Jarāsaṁdha and his successors, and afterwards the centre of Buddha's religious activities. This small distance from Rājagṛha was, we think, of great importance. Precisely because it was a little distant from Rājagṛha that the monasteries were built there. For the *Bhikkhus* and the *Brahmacārins* alike lived in places which were a little away from very thickly populated places, and yet not so far away that they were not within very easy reach. Even the modern colleges are built on the same principle.[2] In short, there must be facility of access and that, we think, Nālandā afforded sufficiently.

Other facilities, cheapness, abundance of food-stuffs, etc., Nālandā did possess. Many of its inhabitants had sung to Buddha of the prosperity of Nālandā.

The climate of Nālandā, we learn from I-Tsing, was very hot.[3] And the one advantage of this was that the *Bhikkhus* did not require many garments.[4] But even apart from this advantage, Nālandā or as a matter of fact any place in Magadha, could not but be hot as Maghada itself is situated in the hot regions of India.

---

[1] *Ibid*.

[2] The Deccan College and later the Fergusson College were built respectively at a distance five miles, and two miles. from the old city of Poona.

[3] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 70.

[4] This advantage, however, could be had in summer only. For Nālandā is pretty cold in winter and gets sufficient rain too,

These are some of the reasons why Nālandā of all places in Magada became a great seat of a university.

In the preceding chapter while speaking about the history of Buddhist monachism, we have seen how the *Bhikkhus* came to stay in permanent places, how these places called *saṅghārāmas* diffused knowledge in various branches of learning, religious as well as secular, how in course of time they came to be the resorts of *Bhikkhus* and *Brahmacārins* alike.

Hiuen Tsiang tells us how exactly the *saṅghārāmas* at Nālandā passed through all these stages and gradually developed into a residential university, and not a shelter for *Bhikkhus* to resort to for merely religious purposes.[1] If any evidence be needed for this interpretation, it can be found in the words of the soothsayer.[2] They were elicited on account of the following circumstances. The King Śakrāditya when he had selected a lucky spot in an auspicious moment, and when the work for digging up the place and to lay the foundation was going on, the Nāga (evidently the Nāga of Nālandā) was wounded. To an Indian King, whether he be a Hindu or Buddhist, this is a sign of ill-omen, for reptiles of all kinds he held sacred, and specially among them, the Nāga (cobra). The king perhaps consulted the soothsayer in order to know whether to proceed with the work or not. And what the soothsayer predicted really came true. He told the King, "This is very superior site, if you build here a *saṅghārāma*, it must be of necessity become highly renowned.

---

[1] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, 168. These *saṅghārāmas* may very well be called "Monastic schools" such as were found in Medieval Europe in Bologna and Paris, though their respective universities were not the outcome of monastic schools. See Rashdall, *o.c.*, p. 276.

[2] See Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 168.

Throughout the five Indies, it will be a model. For a period of thousand years it will continue to flourish. Students of all degrees will, here, easily accomplish their studies. But many will spil blood because of this wound be inflicted on the Nāga.[1]" His last words clearly show that he was no flatterer. He declared in clear, unequivocal terms that what he thought to be the future of the university whose foundation stone the king was then laying down. Nālandā was to be a centre of learning of international repute. Nālandā was to be a battle-field where two faiths, opposite in character, were to contend against each other and destroy many a young scholar.

The genuineness of the prophecy cannot be doubted. No interpolation has yet been found in the records of Hiuen Tsiang, and so it cannot be said that the passage in question was afterwards interpolated. Consequently the present passage is quite free from the charge of interpolation so often brought against such prophetical legends. The only questions then that remain are: whether the prophecy was made after Nālandā had already become famous as a "*Studium generale*"; secondly, whether the prophecy was made after the buildings had already been destroyed, at least once, by the savage bands of Mihirakula.

Nālandā had seen so many ups and downs in its career that the prophecy could be true not only of its whole history but also of the various periods of its history considered separately.

No sooner Nālandā was founded by Śakrāditya and extended by his son Buddhagupta-rājā and his successor

---

[1] *Ibid.*

Tathāgatagupta-rājā than it was destroyed by Mihirakula.[1] It stands to reason that Nālandā, as it was built by Śakrāditya, must have come into great prominence as an educational centre, otherwise his son and successors would not have expended their energy over institutions that were not prospering. On the contrary, the fact that they went on adding more colleges to the existing ones points to another fact, that they responded to the growing need of greater accommodation for the ever increasing number of students. We have, thus, shown that the one period of the history of Nālandā exactly fits in with the first part of the prophecy. As to the second part, viz., "much blood will be split", we have got archaeological evidence to show that Nālandā was destroyed more than once.[2]

But though the prophecy can be proved to have been made afterwards, i.e., after the place became famous as an educational centre, and after it was destroyed, we believe that the prediction was made at the time of the foundation of the University.

The reasons are obvious: First, the prophecy is more appropriately applicable to the whole history of the institution rather than to the various parts; second, (this is, in a sense, contained in the first) the university gained its international reputation only after its rejuvenation at the hands of Bālāditya, *alias*, Narasiṁhagupta. Scholars went to Tibet and China during the Panditship of Dharmapāla and many students flocked to Nālandā from these places in this period.[1] And the fame of Nālandā also reached the ears of foreign potentates, who sent emissaries to Nālandā inviting its pandits to their countries and built colleges at Nālandā for the students.[2] Third, according to the soothsayer, the '*saṅghārāma*' was to flourish for a thousand years. And nobody would be so foolish as to make this prophecy in the face of previous ruin and destruction of the place. Fourth, if we do not take the soothsayer very seriously as regards the age of the University, then he was not quite wrong; for the institution did flourish for about 800 to 900 years, from 425 A.D. to 1205 A.D., if not for a full period of 1000 years.

---

[1] There is no direct evidence to show that Mihirakula razed to the ground the Nālandā buildings. But from the fact that no less than 9 levels of occupation are discovered (See *A.S.I.A.R.* 1923-24, p. 70) coupled with the fact that Mihirakula had passed through Magadha, while pursuing Narasiṁhagupta and carried ravage and destruction throughout the land leads us to think that the buildings were destroyed for the first time by Mihirakula, also see Heras, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, pp. 8-9 and *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, II, N.S., pp. 215-216.

[2] See footnote (1) above.

As regards the spilling of blood, etc., the massacre and the ravages of the Moslems must have been much greater than that caused by Mihirakula and his band. Because the institution never raised its head after the onslaught of the Moslems, while it did flourish again and perhaps with greater power and prosperity after the destruction at the hands of the Huṇ King.[3]

An examination of the genuineness of the prophecy took us, perhaps, off the track. Let us revert to the point, namely *the factors that contributed to the* RISE OF THE UNIVERSITY

A *saṅghārāma*, then, was the starting point of the University. The history of the University from this period onwards—the history of its buildings—of its maintenance, etc. we have summarised under the title of the "Royal Patrons of Nālandā". Because it is only in this way that we can describe the part played by the rulers of different dynasties—

---

1. See supra.

2. See supra.

3. Evidence has now been obtained that the University was revived even after this destruction, and functioned even in a very small way up to the 1st century A.D.

the Guptas, the Vardhanas, the Maukharis, the Pālas and the Senas, in the development, maintenance and the preservation of the University.

Of the patrons that we know, those mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang draw our attention first. From an earlier reference we know that Śakrāditya was the first founder of a *saṅghārāma* at Nālandā.

Hiuen Tsiang thus continues his account of the construction of the University. "His son (Śakrāditya's) Buddhagupta-rāja, who succeeded him, continued to labour at the excellent undertaking of his father. To the south of this he built another *saṅghārāma.*

"Tathāgata-gupta-rāja vigorously practised the former rules of his ancestors, and he built east from this another *saṅghārāma.*

"Bālāditya succeeded to the empire. On the north-east side he built a *saṅghārāma*".

But in addition to this, Bālāditya had built a great *vihāra*, about 300 feet in height. "With respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it", says Hiuen Tsiang, "it resembles the great *vihāra* built under the Bodhi tree."[1]

And a striking confirmation of Hiuen Tsiang's statement is found in the recently discovered inscription.[2] In this inscription we are told that Bālāditya "erected as if with a view to see the Kailāsa mountain surpassed, a great and extra-ordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of Śuddhodhana here at Nālandā".

---

1. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.

2. Nālandā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśovarmadeva, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, January, 1929, p. 27.

Hiuen Tsiang further says, "This king's son called Vajra, came to the throne in succession, and was possessed of a heart strong in faith. He again built on the west side of the convent a *saṅghārāma*. After this a king of Central India built to the north of this a great *saṅghārāma*. Moreover, he built round these edifices a high wall with one gate. A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole was truely marvellous to behold".[1] So ends the account of Hiuen Tsiang of the actual building of the University.

I-Tsing's account of the place, though not so exhaustive as that of Hiuen Tsiang, fully corroborates his predecessor's. With regard to the first royal founder of Nālandā buildings, I-Tsing says, "The temple (Nālandā) was built by an old king, Śrī Śakrāditya, for a Bhikṣu of North India called Rāja Bhoja."[2] Continuing he says, "After beginning it, he was much obstructed by other people, but his descendants finished it and made it by far the most magnificent establishment in Jaṁbūdvīpa. This building is four square, like a city. There are four large gateways of three storeys each. Each storey is some ten feet in height. The whole is covered with tiles."[3]

Thus, according to both the Chinese travellers, Śakrāditya was the first king who built a monastery at Nālandā. Moreover, they both tell us that Śakrāditya met with opposition from the people after beginning the construction of the building ; but that it was the descendants of Śakrāditya who made the institution a renowned centre of learning.

Who were these kings mentioned by the Chinese trave-

---

1. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, pp. 168-70.

2. I-Tsing, *Nan-hae-k'i-kwei-niu-fa-ch'uen*, referred to by Beal *J.RA.S.* XIII (N.S), p. 571.

3. *Ibid.*

llers ? Were they Buddhist or Hindus ? To what period of Indian history did they belong ? Was it to the line of the Imperial Guptas or to a branch of that line (for Guptas they were, as the endings Guptas of their names signify) ? These are questions that must be considered before we speak of other patrons of Nālandā.

Two scholars have attempted to identify these kings and tried to give them a local habitation and a name. According to Kimura we may recognize two Gupta Kings at first sight from the list presented by Hiuen Tsiang, namely, Buddhagupta and Bālāditya. Secondly, he says that Buddhagupta was the successor of Skandagupta, who reigned about 484 A.D. Śakrāditya, therefore, reigned about 450 A.D. ; and as Skandagupta ruled, as it has been established, from 455 to 480 A.D., "Śakrāditya consequently becomes identical with Skandagupta." Thirdly, on the strength of Vincent Smith's authority, he says that "Buddhagupta was the king of Nālandā and belonged to another branch of the main Guptas".

Incomplete as this identification is, it also appears to be incorrect. In the first place we can identify all the kings, excluding the King of Central India, for the present, as Gupta Kings and not only two. For if Buddhagupta was a Gupta, his father Śakrāditya must also be a Gupta. As to Tathāgatagupta, does not his name too sound like the name of a Gupta King ? Then his son and successor must also be a Gupta.

All the kings, therefore, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang are Guptas, whether they belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas or not, we shall know if we can show that Śakrāditya or any of his successors was an Imperial Gupta. For, according to Hiuen Tsiang, all the kings formed one unbroken

---

1. "The shifting of the Centre of Buddhism in India," *Journal of the Department of Letters*, I, pp. 36-38.

line of kings. According to Heras,[1] therefore, the identification of Kimura would fall through the following reasons :

(1) Śakrāditya seems to be Kumāragupta I, because (a) Skandagupta was the son and successor of Kumāragupta I,[2] just as Buddhagupta was the son of Śakrāditya. (b) Another reason that has been very rightly suggested by Heras is that Hiuen Tsiang does not seem to give the original names of the Gupta Kings, but their titles or some titles taken in the later period. And thus he argues that as Kumāragupta I's coins bear witness to his having used the title of Mahendrāditya,[3] and that as Mahendra is the same as Śakra, Kumāragupta I is the same as Śakrāditya.

From the above discussion it is evident that Kumāragupta I, an Imperial Gupta, was the founder of the University of Nālandā, and not Skandagupta as Kimura tries to make out.[4] While fixing the date of the University, we shall come to the same conclusion for other reasons.[5]

As regards Buddhagupta, we know that he was the son and successor of Śakrāditya, *alias* Kumāragupta,[6] while epigraphical evidence[7] tells us that Skandagupta was the son and successor of Kumāragupta I. It naturally follows, therefore, that Buddhagupta was the same as Skandagupta. Vincent Smith even admits that he seems to belong to the

---

1. *J.B.O.R.S.* XIV, pp. 17.
2. "Bhitari Inscription of Skandagupta," Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 55, II, 5 and 6.
3. Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 41. See also footnote (2) below p. 48.
4. Kimura, o.c., p. 38.
5. Very recently a gold coin of Kumāragupta Mahendra I was found immediately above the earliest concrete pavement in the verandah in the north-east corner of Monastery No. 4 Nālandā. See *A.S.I.A.R.* 1928-29, p. 145. It may have been dropped there. So before commenting upon it we should await more finds and inscriptions.
6. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 168.
7. "Bhitari Inscription," o.c., p. 55.

Imperial Guptas.[1] There are no proofs to show that Buddhagupta belonged to the branch line of the Guptas ; secondly, that he is not the same as Skandagupta ; thirdly, Vincent Smith nowhere says, as Kimura alleges, that Buddhagupta was only the king of Nālandā. He, in fact, was the sovereign ruler of Magadha, and Nālandā, naturally, came under his sway.

Since the names of Buddhagupta and Tathāgatagupta connote connexion with Buddhism, it is up to us to prove that these kings looked favourably at Buddhism.

About Skandagupta we know nothing. But we can say that a son and that again in ancient India (if we were in modern times we may expect otherwise)—would not go against the religious inclinations of his father. Consequently, even if Skandagupta was not a devout Buddhist, he did not lose anything if he acted according to the wish of Nālandā authorities and order another *saṅghārāma* to be built by the side of his father.

Such an act proceeding from sheer charity, if not from faith in Buddhism, would do credit to him and much more to his father. For evidently the institution founded by his father was showing signs of prosperity. And who would not like to see the father's institution thus prospering, since he fulfilled thus cherished desire of his father ! Even a hundred *Śrāddhas* would not profit him so much.

Coming to Puragupta, we find ourselves treading on surer grounds. His coins bear the words *Śrī Vikramah*,[2] and this must refer to King Vikramāditya, who was the patron of Buddhism and sent his crown prince to study under Vasubandhu.[3] Precisely for this reason, it appears, that Hiuen Tsiang calls him Tathāgatagupta-rāja.

---

1. Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 332.
2. Allan, *o.c.*, p. 1. c.
3. Takakusu, Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 44.

From other evidence also, we can show the Puragupta was the same as Tathāgatagupta. Bālāditya, otherwise known as Narasiṁhagupta, was the son of Puragupta and succeeded him to the empire in 467 A.D.[1] This exactly corresponds with what we learn from Hiuen Tsiang and his biographer that Bālāditya was the son and successor of Tathāgatagupta.[2]

King Vajra spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang has been identified with King Vikramāditya II who was the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta according to the Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta II.[3]

The only king who remains to be identified is the King of Central India who built a great *saṅghārāma*, and an encircling wall with one gate.

King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj appears to be the King of Central India. Hiuen Tsiang twice refers to him in connexion with the University.[4] That Harṣa had openly declared himself in favour of Buddhism is clear from Hiuen Tsiang's account.[5] It is no wonder, therefore, that a king like Harṣa should build a *saṅghārāma* for the propagation of Buddhism.[6] Moreover, Harṣa was the only king of Central India who on account of his supremacy could stretch a hand of charity towards a distant place as Nālandā. No other king, of lesser position than Harṣa, dare do it. The occasion when Harṣa built the *saṅghārāma* etc. must have been, as suggested by Heras,[1] after he had defeated Śaśāṅka, the greatest oppressor of Buddhism after Mihirakula. The reason why Hiuen Tsiang calls Harṣa 'the King of Central India' and not by his real name is possibly this : the Chinese traveller, though he mentions Harṣa first and then Nālandā (as given by Beal in his translation), had in fact visited first Nālandā and then Kanauj. This is clear from the order which Harṣa sent to Kumārarāja, king of Kāmarupa which ran as follows: "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Śramaṇa, you are entertaining at the Nālandā convent."[3] From this it follows that Hiuen Tsiang had never seen Harṣa before and that he went to Nālandā first and then to Kanauj. Hiuen Tsiang's ignorance, therefore, about Harṣa's name is quite explicable. He must have been given to understand on his inquiring about the *saṅghārāmas* that the one in question was built by a king of Central India ; or it may be that Harṣa was better known by the title of King of Central India, a title of greater importance than the mere name Harṣa.

---

[1] Vincent Smith, *o.c.*, p. 329.

[2] *Records*, II, p. 168 ; *Life*, p. 111. Raychaudhuri, (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 297), however, thinks that Bālāditya of Hiuen Tsiang and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, the son and successor of Puragupta, were not identical persons.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225.

[4] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, 1, p. 216.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[6] But perhaps the strongest reason for the supposition is that Harṣa had, in fact, built a *vihāra* of brass at Nālandā. (Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 159). And therefore it is not unlikely that he had also built a *saṅghārāma* at Nālaṇdā.

The kings, then, who shared in the task of making the University buildings "marvellous to behold" when Hiuen Tsiang visited the place were real figures of history, and it will be clear from the under-mentioned parallel columns.

Śakrāditya—Kumāragupta I (415 A.D. to 455 A.D.).

Buddhaguptarāja—Skandagupta (455 A.D.)

Tathāgatagupta—Puragupta—(467 A.D.?)

Bālādityarāja—Bālāditya—Narasiṁhagupta (470 A.D.)

---

1. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 15.

2. Hiuen Tsiang. *o.c.*, I, p.216.

Vajra—Kumāragupta II (473 A.D.)[1]

King of Central India—Harṣa of Kanauj.

The contribution of each of these kings in the construction and development of the University we have noted by a reference to Hiuen Tsiang. Now, before we go to describe any other part played by these kings in relation to the University's diverse activities, we should settle the date of the royal-rise of Nālandā, a question which though it came earlier than that of the identification of various kings, was passed over for reasons to be mentioned hereafter.

Though the Chinese traveller gives the name of the king, viz. Śakrāditya, who founded the University, he does not tell us when exactly or even approximately, it was founded. Since we have been able to identify Śakrāditya with Kumāragupta I, we can settle the date of the foundation of the University, if we can fix the date when Kumāragupta I came to the throne and the period of his regime.

The earliest date that we could assign to Kumāragupta I is A.D. 415-16 and it is drawn from the *Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription.*[2] It appears that the king was a Śaivite when he ascended the throne as the inscription speaks of the Śaiva form of worship. While another inscription, *Mankuwar Stone Inscription*, is Buddhist,[3] and the date recorded therein, probably the latest, is 448-49 A.D. Naturally, therefore, the king's religious views underwent a change between these years, viz. 415 449. And it appears that the king in order to show that he was a devout Buddhist built a *saṅghārāma* at Nālandā for the propagation of Buddhist learning. But it was a step that was not likely to take at the end of his reign about 450 A.D., but earlier. Now if the conversion came earlier, say about 420 then we can expect such a gesture on the part of Kumāragupta within five or ten years of his conversion, that is to say, in about 425 A.D.[1] Hence the year 425 A.D. is the most approximate date of the royal establishment of the University.

---

[1] Vincent Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 346.

[2] Fleet, *o.c.*, p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

The same date can also be arrived at if instead of starting with Kumāragupta, the founder of the University, we just begin in a reverse order, that is, from Bālāditya Narasiṁhagupta, the restorer of the University. For it was he who defeated the Huṇs under Mihirakula and regained the lost prestige of the Guptas. He came to the throne in or about A.D. 500. And now if we accept Sammaddar's or Heras' view and allot, as they do, 25 years as an average to the reign of Puragupta and Skandagupta, then we reach 450 A.D., a date we learn from another source,[2] when he was already the ruler of Magadha. And once again assuming that he built the University not in the closing years of his regime, but say between 420 and 448 A.D., we once more come to the conclusion already suggested by us, viz. that the University was probably founded in or about 425 A.D.

The assumption that the University could not have been built earlier than the year 415 or 416 A.D. rests only on this foundation : that we know of no date of Kumāragupta, the founder, earlier than 415-16 A.D., and his leanings towards Buddhism as early as that date. So if an earlier date can be gathered from epigraphic or numismatic evidence, or from his religious views, there need be no objection to shifting the date of the establishment of the University. For the mere fact that Fa-hien, perhaps the earliest Chinese traveller, did not speak eulogistically of the place should not deter us from assuming, if it can be assumed on other grounds, that the University was founded, earlier, say in 400 A.D. Because we have already remarked, elsewhere, that Fa-hien might not have visited it at all, or if he did, by nature he preferred to be brief in his description of the places he visited, unless the place was so unusually attractive and great that it compelled more elaborate description from him, and even in such cases his account of these places is meagre when compared with that of his successor, namely, Hiuen Tsiang.

---

[1] Though this does not conclusively indicate a change of faith on the part of the king, still it does indicate a catholicity of outlook on religious matters.

[2] Allan, *o.c.*, p. 41,

It must be evident to the reader that an effort has been made to fix the date only of the *saṅghārāma* (as Hiuen Tsiang calls it) built by Śakrāditya, i.e., Kumāragupta I. The reason for this is obvious. Nālandā as a University came into existence only in the reign of the early Guptas ; that is to say Kumāragupta and others. It is not till this period that anything like a stream of scholars begins to flow towards Nālandā, when it was recognized as an educational centre. Before this, Nālandā might have been and was in all likelihood, in the times of Nāgārjuna in the second century A.D. and even in still remoter times, in the days of Buddha, a great religious as well as an educational centre. But as our knowledge of this period is scanty, and that too hardly based on purely historical material, we have sketched the history of Nālandā from the times of Kumāragupta I.

That the identification of the various royal builders with those of the Imperial Gupta emperors beginning with Kumāragupta I is correct, done as it was with great vision by Heras, is now proved by the discovery of numerous seals, sealings and coins from the excavations at Nālandā.

Archer types of coins of Kumāragupta I have been found from the deeper layers of monastery Site No. 4, and these are regarded as the "earliest finds" so far at Nālandā. (Ghosh, 1950, p. 10). Earlier still would be a Copper Plate of Samudragupta, but this is believed to be spurious. Then here are the seals of Buddhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta (III), Vainyagupta ; Maukhari Sarvavarman, Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyotiṣa.[1] These prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Nālandā was under the direct sway of the Imperial Guptas, who patronized the foundation and growth of the University.

And it was because of this that Nālandā and the region around it had the advantage of excellent administration division of the country into *bhukti* (district), *viṣaya* (taluka) : and villages, and each in charge of an officer, and a council of advisers. Every *bhukti*, every *viṣaya*, and every village had its own seal. This rare insight into the ancient Indian administration is supplied by thousands of seals and sealing found from the excavasions.[2] Though we are not in a position to say whether all the units of administration mentioned in these baked clay records existed at one and the same time (because the seals are not dated and can be dated approximately only on palaeographic grounds), still we can say that this part of Bihar had at least three *bhukits*, viz, Magadha,[3] Nagara,[4] and Śrāvasti ;[5] that under these *bhuktis* there were the Gayā Viṣaya, Rājagṛhaviṣaya, Kṛimila Viṣaya and Śona-antarāla Viṣaya.

Names of a large number of villages,[6] some within a radius of thirty miles occur in these seals. These, therefore, corroborate archaeologically what I-Tsing had said thousands of monks were maintained by more than 200 villages bestowed by previous kings.[7]

---

1. Sastri, Hirananda, *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material, MASI*, No. 66, 1942, pp. 64-69.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 (S. 1. 794, 649, 823)
4. *Ibid.*, p. 52 (S.I. 797)
5. *Ibid.*, p 52 (S.I. 821)
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46. Jānapada Seals
7. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 65 and 154.

Besides these already well known royal patrons, excavations have yielded seals of king Mānasiṁha, seals of high officials, Paśupatisiṁha and Devasiṁha, seals of various officers, such as head of a Viṣaya, (*adhikaraṇa*), Kumāra-amātya. It is worth recording here that all these were not Buddhists. Most of them were non-Buddhists, as the emblems on Jānapada seals, and those of officers, clearly show. These emblems are of Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, Śiva in the form of liṅga, Durgā. Thus the share or contribution of the non-Buddhists in the continued maintenance of Nālandā's large student population was equally great.

Before we take note of the contribution of Harṣa, a reference has to be made to a tragic event that marred the development of the University. Though there is no written evidence in the form of inscriptions, there is sufficient archaeological evidence in the form of burnt debris in the deeper layers of monastery No. 1 to suggest that these buildings had been destroyed by fire. And the earliest of these destructions took place at the end of the 5th or early in the 6th century A.D. There are two independent traditions : one Indian, and almost contemporary, the other foreign (Tibetan) and several centuries later.

A Sanskrit Buddhist work—*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (T. S.S. No. 84, Part iii, p. 620) tells us that a foreigner named Gomi entered India through Kashmir and destroyed many monasteries and killed several monks. Then king Buddhapakṣa, who was an ardent Buddhist, re-erected the stupas and monasteries. His son Gambhira Yakṣa followed suit and also dug several tanks and wells.

According to Tārānātha Buddhism in Magadha suffered after Rāhulabhadra. A Turuṣka king invaded Magadha, and destroyed many monasteries at Nālandā, whose monks fled away.[1]

---

[1] There was Rāhulaśrībhadra who was the Mahāpaṇḍita of Nālandā in 1234-36 A.D. So this statement might refer to this event also,

Let us now resume the history of Nālandā and its royal patrons.

Harṣa, as we know, built a great *saṅghārāma* at Nālandā.[1] But he also constructed a *vihāra* with brass plates[2] and a high wall round all the buildings.[3] However, this was not all. He helped and encouraged the University in other ways too. There were numerous students and professors who had to be maintained by the institution. And Harṣa, in addition to the provision he must have made for food and raiment for them, took upon himself the feeding of some forty priests every day as a special charge in order to show his gratitude, as the Chinese visitor says,[4] to the founder.

There was still another way in which the University received help from Harṣa : wherever he went and whatever his other professions might be, he championed and upheld the religious and philosophical doctrines preached by Nālandā. Thus, for instance, while touring through Orissa, he came across some learned Hīnayanists. They ridiculed him for having built a *vihāra* at Nālandā which, they said, believed in the "sky flower" doctrine (*Śūnyavāda ?*). But Harṣa asserted the superiority of this doctrine over that of the Hīnayanists, and to prove it sent a messenger to Nālandā with a note on Śīlabhadra in which he said : "Your servant, whilst progressing through Orissa, met some priests of the Little Vehicle who, hampered by contracted views adhere to a *śāstra* which abuses the principles of the Great Vehicle. They speak of the followers of that system as men of a different religion, and they wish to hold a controversy with you on this point. Now I know that in your convent, there are eminent priests and exceedingly gifted, belonging to

---

1. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.
2. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 159.
3. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.
4. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.

different schools of learning, who will undoubtedly be able to overthrow them—so now, in answer to their challenge, I beg you to send four men of surpassing ability, well acquainted with one and the other school, and also with esoteric and exotiric doctrine, to the country of Orissa."[1]

What was written nearly 37 years ago (in the Introduction p. XII) was later proved by a detailed study of this work by the late Dr. Vasudevasharan Agrawal (*Harṣa-carita—Eka Sāṁskritika Adhyayana*). Not only there is no reference to Nālandā, but also to Buddhists or Buddhism, though in the seventh *Ucchvāsa* (Chapter), there is a reference to the presents received from Bhāskara Varmā of Prāgjotiṣapura (Assam). It would thus appear that both these rulers turned to Buddhism in the later period of their life. And hence Nālandā does not figure in *Harṣa-carita*.

The passage not only shows the high esteem and regard for Nālandā and its pandits, but also evidences in no mistakable terms, the efforts he made to spread the Nālandā culture.

Hiuen Tsiang's account of the story of the construction of the University does not stop with Harṣa. For he says, "A long succession of kings continued the work of building..."[2] What exactly Hiuen Tsiang means by these words is, indeed, very difficult to make out. The difficulty lies in this that we have identified "the King of Central India" with Harṣa; and Harṣa and Hiuen Tsiang were contemporaries. Consequently, the words "a long succession of kings" could not really refer to the kings after Harṣa. Evidently, therefore, they must be some kings who flourished after Bālāditya and before Harṣa. But this interpretation is not warranted by the order in which the account is narrated.

---

[1] Hwui, Li, o.c., p. 160.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 170.

However, if we accept Heras' interpretation,[1] that is if we suppose that the latter sentence must precede the words "a long succession of Kings", these words might refer to the later Guptas and others who flourished before Harṣa.[2]

Next to the Guptas and Vardhanas, the royalty that seems to have shown a friendly interest in Nālandā seems to be the Varmans, some of whom were Maukharis and very probably ruled at Kanauj.

Now Hiuen Tsiang[3] speaks of one Pūrṇavarma who presented to Nālandā, "a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper, 80 feet in height". and to cover which he constructed a pavilion of six stages. This Pūrṇavarma, as Heras[4] thinks, was the last of the Maukharis.

Besides these references to the Varmans, some seals and an inscription have been discovered which contain references to the Varmans. One of the seals speaks of Sureśvaravarman and his geneology.[5] But the scanty data furnished by the seals is supplemented by the recent discovery of an inscription at Nālandā.[6] Herein, we are told, that Mālāda, a minister of

---

[1] *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 12, n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* But it seems that Hiuen Tsiang does not refer to other kings but only sums up the work of construction of the earlier kings from Kumāragupta I to Harṣa. This interpretation would be at once apparent if we add 'thus' and read, (Thus) a long succession of kings continued the work of building...till the whole is truely marvellous to behold."

[3] *o.c.*, II, p. 174.

[4] *o.c.*, p. 18.

[5] This is based on a paper, *The Seals of Nālandā*," read by Dr. Hira-Nand Śāstri at the first Historical Congress, Bombay. The seals, he speaks of, are perhaps the same referred to by *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1917-18, p. 44-45.

[6] *Nālandā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśovarmadeva, Ep. Ind.*, XX, January 1929, p. 37.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

King Yaśovarmadeva made various kinds of offerings to the Nālandā monks, paid for their daily food and donated money equal to the price of the whole Nālandā institution.[1]

Mālāda was a son of Tikina, guardian of the northern routes. The peculiarity of the names Mālāda and Tikina which seem un-Sanskritic and the reference to the northern routes, have led scholars to identify him as a Tukharian.[2]

The interest and patronage which must have been received from the overlord of Mālāda, Yaśovarmadeva, can be better imagined than described in the absence of specific evidence. Yaśovarmman must have in all probability built a *saṅghārāma* or a *vihāra* at Nālandā.

Now who was this Yaśovarmman and when and where did he rule ? This question is not answered by the inscription. Hirananda Sastri's view that he was an overlord of the King Bālāditya, Narasiṁhagupta and is no other than the King Yaśodharma of the Mandasor inscription does not seem to be warranted by the arguments adduced by him. These, rather, if they prove anything at all, as has been shown,[3] point to King Yaśovarmadeva who had a capital at Kanuaj and flourished in or about 728-745 A.D.[4]

This inscription fills the gap which would otherwise have been felt in the account of kings connected with Nālandā. For after Harṣa no royal personage is, at present, known to

---

1. This is the interpretation we put on the following Engligh version of the original : "He (Mālāda), purchased (everything of) his own here (at Nālandā) from the revered Saṅgha and gave back according to rites barring the monks robes." See *Ibid.*, verse 10, p. 46.

2. See Hirananda Sastri, *o.c.*, p. 41 and Bhattasali, *Modern Review*, September 1931, p. 307.

3. Bhattasali, *o.c.*, pp. 306-307 ; also Majumdar, *I.H.O.*, September, 1931, p. 664.

4. *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 775-777.

have extended the hand of generosity to the University until we meet the Pālas in or about the year A.D. 750. The Yaśovarmmadeva-inscription is proved to belong to the king of the same name who reigned from 734-748 A.D.

The history of the ROYAL PATRONS OF NĀLANDĀ, thus, though it appeared to be suddenly breaking off after Harṣa is now proved to be a continuous one, barring a period of about 100 years—from 648-734 A.D.

The middle of the eighth century brings us to the Pālas, who had just then emerged from the political chaos in Bengal as her elected rulers. Gopāla, the first king, on account of the turbulent times in which he came to acquire the Pāla throne could have hardly done anything for Nālandā, though according to a Tibetan tradition he had founded a monastry then. (*HCIP., Vol. IV, p. 44*).

During the reign of Dharmapāla Praśāntamitra, a disciple of Jñānapāda studied the *Prajñāpāramitās* and some sections of the Kriyā and *Yoga tantras* and attained *Yamānta-Siddhi.* He built a monastery called Amṛtakara to the south of Nālandā. (*HCIP.*, Vol. IV, p. 272)

His son, Dharmapāladeva, must have patronised the University in one way or another. This conjecture is supported by a recent discovery of a copper-plate at Nālandā.[1] But it is so hopelessly defaced that beyond the legend *Dharmapāladevah* which is inscribed on a seal soldered at the top and engraved in one line below the *Dharmachakra* and the fact that it was issued from a royal camp nothing can be made out.

He is also credited with the foundation of the University of Vikramaśilā (probably the hill at Patharghata near Bhagalpur on the Gaṅgā), and also at Somapuri (Paharpur) in Varendra (now Bangla Desh). Tibetan tradition also attributes the foundation of the monasteries at Odantapuri (Bihar-Sharif) to him, but this is challenged. (*HCIP.*, Vol. IV, p. 49).

---

[1] See *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-27, pp. 138-39.

Like Vikramaśilā, Nālandā might have suffered when the Saindhava-śrāvakas who were Hīnayānists and came from Simhala caused some damage and burnt Mantra-treatises, alleging that these did not represent the original teachings of the Buddha. What is important to note in this minor revolt is the strength of the Hīnayānists at such a late date (*HCIP.*, Vol. IV, p. 273).

It was only in the times of Devapāla, however, that the University once more found a king of the type of Harṣa, who seems to have completely identified himself with the cause for which the University stood. This is evident from the discovery of a number of metallic figures, male as well as female, all of which contain a reference to King Devapāla.[1] But of greater consequence than these figures are the two inscriptions which bear testimony to the above remarks in no unmistakable terms.

The two inscriptions mentioned are: "*The Nālandā Copperplate of Devapāladeva.*"[2] The first one tells us that the King Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvipa "was attracted by the manifold excellence of Nālandā and through devotion to the son of Śuddhodana (the Buddha)[3]...built here (at Nālandā) a monastery, which was the abode of the assembly of monk with various good qualities, and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings"[4] and that he had requested

---

[1] Of such figures, two, one of Hāritī and another of Balarāma are very interesting and instructive. *See Ibid.* 1924-25, and 1926-27, p. 132 respectively.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 310-327.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* XVII, pp. 307-12.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, verse 32, p. 327.

King Devapāladeva through an ambassador of his, Balavarmman, to grant five villages, Nandivanaka, Manivātaka, Natika, Hasti and Palamake towards the income for the blessed Lord Buddha, the abode of all the virtues like *Prajñāpāramitā* for offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, etc., of the assembly of the venerable bhikkhus....and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery when damaged.[1]

The importance of this inscription can never be overestimated. Not only Nālandā had acquired the patronage of a Pāla King of Bengal, Devapāladeva, but had even secured the patronage of a king from far off Suvarṇadvipa and Yavadvipa, the modern islands of Sumatra and Java. "This Bālaputradeva is now known to be one of the rulers of the Śailendra dynasty which had built up an empire in South-East Asia in the 8th century A.D. (For details see *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 412 ff). And this patronage was of no mean degree, consisting as it did of a monastery, and the grant of five villages for its maintenance and preservation, while it places King Bālaputradeva in the same distinguished category of Kings, Kumāragupta I, Narasiṁhagupta and Harṣa who contributed to the rise and development of Nālandā and gave it a unique position among the centres of learning.

If this much can be said to the credit of a foreign king in relation to Nālandā, much more could be said of a king who was the actual witness to the splendour and glory of an institution, which drew from a foreign king a munificent gift, in spite of the fact, that we have, not as yet, discovered any evidence of Devapāla having built a monastery at Nālandā.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, 11, 33-37 and 37-42, p. 325. The monastery of Bālaputradeva, the foundation of which is recorded in the inscription of Devapāla, is not merely a name, its remains were found from one of the levels of Monastery No. 1 at Nālandā. See Kuraishi, *Guide to Nālandā*, p. 4.

Nevertheless, evidence of a patronage of another character is supplied by the second inscription, the *Ghosrawa Inscription*. We learn[1] from it that Devapāladeva received and patronised a very learned Brāhmaṇa named Vīradeva, who had come to Nālandā after visiting many centres of learning such as Kaniṣka *vihāra* and *Yaśovarmmapura*. This very Vīradeva, we are further told,[2] was afterwards elected the head of the *saṅgha* by the assembly of monks. It is probable that King Devapāla was connected with the administration of the University and this in addition to the profound learning of Vīradeva, was probably the reason why he was elected the head of the *saṅgha*.

After Devapāla the chain again seems to break, for we have no records of Pāla Kings till Gopāla II. It is only when we come to Gopāla II that the name of Nālandā is once again mentioned in relation to a Pāla King. This relation is referred to on the foot of an image of a goddess Vāgīśvarī thus : The image of the goddess Vāgīśvarī, at Nālandā, was covered with a gold-leaf by some unnamed person in the first year of Gopāladeva.[3] This Gopāladeva is identified with Gopāla II by Banerji.[4] As his rule over Magadha was very short, we cannot ascertain whether he could encourage the University save with some donations.

With the reconquest of Magadha by Mahipāla I, Nālandā once more found a royal patron of the type of Gopāla II. It is said that two temples were constructed at Bodh-Gayā, and several monuments at Nālandā, after they were damaged or destroyed by fire. were repaired and restored during the reign of Mahipāla. (*HCIP.*, Vol. IV. p. 26). Even so late as the 10th century A.D. copying of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-*

---

[1] *Ind, Ant.*, XVII, Line 10, p. 311.

[2] *Ibid.*, Line,11.

[3] *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., IV, p. 105.

[4] *The Pālas of Bengal.* p. 65.

pāramitā was considered a very pious and meritorious act One Kalyanamitra Cintāmaṇi, a resident of Nālandā, prepared such a copy, and to show respect for the king who held the destinities of Nālandā, concluded it, by saying that *Prajñā-pāramitā* was copied by him in the sixth year of the reign of Mahipāla, the son of Vigrahapāla.[1]

Incidentally, therefore, we can say that Vigrahapāla also, if he was in power, must have done something for an institution that was reared and maintained by his forefathers. In or about the eighth or ninth year of Mahipāla's reign, the great temple (perhaps of Bālāditya) was burnt down. And though Mahipāla himself did not actually repair and restore it, we are told that in the 11th year of his reign, the temple was rebuilt by a person named Bālāditya, a *jyāvisa* of Tiladhaka (modern Telara) who had immigrated from Kauśāmbī.[2]

The next reference to a Pāla King and Nālandā as well, is to be found in another of such manuscripts. Here we are told that *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was copied out by one Grahanakuṇḍa in the fourth year of the reign of Rāmapāla.[3] The times, however, which Rāmapāla had to face, periods of alternate success and defeat, could have hardly enabled him to turn his attention to Nālandā.

Govindapāladeva was perhaps the last Pāla King, who patronised Nālandā. For, after his death in or about 1197 A.D., the various dynasties of kings—the Cāhamānas Gāhadavālas, Pālas and Senas, who were long since contending over the spoils of Magadha were exterminated by the violent storm of Moslem invasion, and Nālandā, too, met a similar fate.

---

[1] Bendall, *Cat. of Buddhist Sans. MSS in the Univ. Liby.* Cambridge. p. 101.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, IV, p. 106, No. IV, pl. VI.

[3] See *Cat. of Sans. MSS in the Bodlian Liby.* Cambridge, II, p. 250. These were sometimes written in gold in Nepal. (*Biography* p. 102).

Now, according to a manuscript,[1] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was copied in the 4th year of the reign of Govindapāladeva. This Govindapāladeva, Banerji,[2] thinks, was very likely a Pāla King, though it cannot be said for certain whether he descended from the Imperial Pāla dynasty or not.[3] He ruled over Magadha from A.D. 1161 to 1197.

Thus end the history of Nālandā and the kings who patronised it in various ways. Not only did the Pālas, who ruled over Magadha for some four centuries, contribute their mite in accordance with the vicissitudes of time in which they flourished, towards the maintenance and preservation of art and culture as embodied in Nālandā, but others also the Gurjara-Pratihāras who now and then invaded Magadha, helped, or shall we say, forced the University to acknowledge their suzerainty and even to record it. One of the votive *stūpas*,[5] unearthed at Nālandā, contains a reference to Mahendrapāladeva.[6] And he is now definitely identified with not one of the Pāla Kings as Kielhorn,[7] Smith[8] and M.M.H.P. Shastri[9] once thought, but as a Gurjara-Pratihāra who had annexed Magadha in or about the 10th century A.D.

The role of Varmans who ruled over East Bengal in the second quarter of the 11th century is difficult to describe. According to an inscription[10] said to be found from Nālandā,

---

1. *J.R.A.S.*, No. S., VIII (1876), p. 3 ; as well as (*Eib. Ind, Cal.* 1888).
2. *o.c.*, p. 108.
3. *o.c,*, p. 108.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 112.
5. See *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1924-25, p. 86.
6. Banerji, *o.c.*, p. 66.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, App. p. 118, Note 2.
8. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p, 246.
9. *Mem. A.S.B.*, III, p. 16.
10. It is not known where this inscription is published. It is not in Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā* and its *Epigraphical material*, but cited in the General Bibliography to Vol. V, p. 805,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Vaṅgāla army probably under Yātavarman, sacked the Buddhist monastery at Somapura (modern Paharpur, Rajshahi District). If they were really anti-Buddhists Nālandā also might have suffered, though we do not know if Jātavarman in his invasion of Kāmarupa, had also attacked southern Bihar. *HCIP.*, Vol. V, p. 34).

Apart from the Pālas and Gurjara-Pratihāras, it will be not too much to assume that even the Senas, under whose sway had come the Eastern, Western, and Northern Bengal and the eastern part of Magadha, might have stretched their hand of charity to the University of Bihar.

It is hoped, however, that further excavations at Nālandā and other neighbouring places in Magadha will bring to light more epigraphical and numismatic evidence which will enable us to give a continued, unbroken history of Nālandā and its patrons.[1]

After having, thus, discussed the contribution or various kings towards the building of the Nālandā University, we may just note what the actual arrangement of the buildings was, and how they looked.

From the account of Hiuen Tsiang it appears that there were at least six colleges at Nālandā. For each king, beginning with Kumāragupta I down to Harṣa built a *vihāra* or a *saṅghārāma* at Nālandā. And if we include the *vihāra* built by Bālaputradeva, King of Suvarṇadvipa, then there would be no less than seven *vihāras*. As a matter of fact, when

---

[1] Hirananda Sastri says that he has discovered at Nālandā some seals of the Gupta Kings Narasiṁhagupta, his son Kumāragupta, Budhagupta and Vinayagupta. Probably they will throw some light on the relation of these kings with Nālandā. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, April 1931, p. 77. Even so late as the 12th century A.D., according to an inscription recently found at Nālandā, a Buddhist ascetic Vipulaśrimitra erected a monastery 'an ornament of the world'. Chatterji, who had edited the epigraph, thinks that the monastery built by the ascetic was identical with Monastery No. VII. in whose debris the inscription was found. *Ep. Ind,, XXI*, 1931, p: 97.

I-Tsing visited Nālandā, at least a century before Bālaputra thought of building a *vihāra* at Nālandā, there were already in existence eight colleges[1] (halls, as I-Tsing calls them), having as many as 300 rooms.[2]

These *saṅghārāmas* were built in a row (or in parallel rows as would appear from the excavations). And there is no doubt that many of these *saṅghārāmas* or *vihāras* were three to four storeys high, for their lofty height and grandeur are repeatedly mentioned in all the inscriptions, as well as by Hiuen Tsiang and his biographer.[3] As one inscription very beautifully says, "She (Nālandā) had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the sky...Nālandā (was full of the) heaps of the rays of the *caityas* shining and bright like white clouds."

"Nālandā had temples which were brilliant on account of the network of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and virtuous *saṅgha* and resembled Sumeru, the charming residence of the Vidyādharas".[4]

According to Tibetan accounts,[5] moreover, Nālandā had a grand library, called Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consis-

---

[1] From the account of Hiuen Tsiang's biographer that there were already eight colleges even when Hiuen Tsiang visited Nālandā. He says, "One gate opens into the great college from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle". Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 111.

[2] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 105. The number of rooms given by I-Tsing seems to be pretty accurate. For, from the buildings that have been excavated at Nālandā it appears that there were at least 30 to 40 rooms in each monastery.

[3] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, pp. 170 and 173-174. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, pp. 111-112.

[4] Nālandā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśovarmmadeva, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 45.

[5] Vide *Pag-Samjon-zang*, edited in the original Tibetan by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das. *C.I.E.*, at Calcutta, p. 92, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *H.I.L.*, p. 516.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

ted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi and Ratnagañjaka, respectively. In Ratnodadhi, which was nine-storeyed, there were the sacred scripts called *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, and Tantric works such as *Samājaguhya*[1] etc.

We cannot close the account of the buildings of Nālandā in a better manner than by quoting what Hiuen Tsiang (who had stayed at Nālandā) felt and experienced. "The whole establishment (the *vihāras*, *saṅghārāmas*, and the library) is surrounded by a brick wall. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls standing in the middle (of the *saṅghārāma*).

"The richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets, like the pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapour (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the sky.

"From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring caves the conjunctions of the sun and moon (may be observed).

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured caves, the pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades. These things add beauty to the place."[2]

Nālandā, in short, with its "scholars well known for their (knowledge of the) sacred texts and art" and with its "learned and virtuous *saṅgha*", and its brilliant and magnificent *caityas*,[3]

---

[1] This is, I think, the same as *Guhya-samāja*-Tantra published in G.O.S., No. LXIII.

[2] Cf. this description with the one of the inscription just quoted "...... temples, brilliant on account of the network of the rays of the various jewels set in them,"

[3] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, pp. 111-112.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

and *vihāras* was, as an inscription says "a city which mocked as it were at all the cities of the kings."

After the conquest of Bihar by Bakhtiyar Khilji it appears that the local Hindu/Budddhist rulers continued to govern small tracts of the country under them. Southern Magadha in which were situated Gṛdhrakuṭi, Rājagṛha, Veluvana, Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā) and Nālandā, there was a king named Buddhasena, who belonged, according to Dharmasvāmin, to Buddha's maternal uncle's family.

The effect of Muslim raid was evident everywhere. Bodh-Gayā was deserted and only four monks were found staying there. Even these fled, when the rumour spread that the Turuṣkas (Muslim soldiers) were about to attack. (*Biography*, p. 64).

The conditions at Nālandā were not different. Situated at a distance of about two days' journey to the south-east of Vajrāsana, the buildings were damaged by the Taruṣkas, and there was absolutely no one to look after them or to make offerings, (However), a venerable and learned monk who was more than 90 years old, the Guru and Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhadra, four other Paṇḍitas, and 70 venerable ones (students ?) had continued to live there.

Giving a brief history of the establishment Dharmasvāmin says that it was a religious establishment built by a former king. It had seven great (lofty) pinnacles in its centre, two of which had been erected by the Rājā and two by great Ācāryas, one each. On the outside, towards the North, stood 14 lofty pinnacles (śikharas). Outside of it, there were about 80 small vihāras. Most of them were built by the Rājā. Some were built by the queen.

Though some of these *stūpas*, *vihāras* and *saṅghārāmas* were damaged by the Muslims, still Dharmasvāmin also observes that many were left undamaged. This means that up the middle of the 13th century, to be precise in 1234-36 A.D. when this Tibetan scholar was at Nālandā, the whole University campus had survived except for some inevitable destruction by fire and indiscriminate attack by the Muslim soldiers.

Two vihāras called Dhu-na-ba and Ghu-na-ba were in a serviceable condition. And like the Buddhist caves in western India, for instance Ellora and Ajanta, many of these vihāras were decorated with figures of Buddha and other gods and goddesses. Dharmasvāmin specially mentions four holy images, the stone image of Khasarpana Mañjuśrī, the image of Jñānanātha, and of Tārā without ornaments. The first image was in the royal vihāra and relates a very interesting story about it (p. 93). None of these images survives, but we can have some idea of the way how these vihāras were, from the few extant stucco figures in Stupa Site No. 3.

Chapter IV

Studies of Nālandā

In the preceding chapters we have reviewed the conditions under which Nālandā had sprung up, and the curricula that were prevalent before its rise. In this chapter we propose to discuss (i) the curriculum that was actually followed at Nālandā, and (ii) the efforts that the University made to impart knowledge in the various items of that curriculum.

In describing the curriculum that was followed at Nālandā we have to be very cautious, for the reason that we meet with statements which, unless they are properly scrutinized, would seem contradictory. Hiuen Tsiang[1] says, for instance, that one (a student) must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission (at Nālandā). By "old and new books" Hiuen Tsiang evidently means works such as the *Vedas* the *Upaniṣads*, works of different systems—*Sāṁkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Nyāya* and all the works of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism. Thus we find that a student was supposed to have knowledge of these subjects before he sought admission to Nālandā.

His biographer,[2] however, seems to contradict him. He says that students in Nālandā study the Great Vehicle and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects, and not only these, but even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetuvidyā*, *Śabdavidyā*, the *Cikiṭsāvidyā*, the works on Magic (*Atharvaveda*), the *Sāṁkhya* ; besides these they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous" works. That these subjects were taught at Nālandā is beyond doubt, because Hiuen Tsiang himself studied the *Yogaśāstra*, the *Nyāya-Anuśāsana-śāstra*, the *Śabdavidyā* and works on *Mahāyāna* such as the *Kośa*, *Vibhāṣā*, etc. at Nālandā from Śīlabhadra and others.[1]

---

[1] *o.c.*, II, p. 171.

[2] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 112,

Now the question naturally arises : How do you explain that a student was supposed to have knowledge of these subjects before he joined the Nālandā University and also that these subjects were taught there ?

The only way in which we could solve this problem is to suppose that Nālandā was essentially a teaching university because students were instructed in all the varied branches of learnings, as we are told by Hwui Li. But those scholars who came from other centres of learning had to undergo a strict test of their knowledge before they could prosecute their studies at Nālandā. These outsiders were eager to pass the examination and obtain the Nālandā degree. This will be clear from a study of Hiuen Tsiang's and I-Tsing's records.

Hiuen Tsiang says, "Learned men from different cities, who desire quickly to acquire a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide".[2]

The method followed by the University to hold examinations is very interesting. The examiners, we are told, were no other than the keepers of the gate. They were very learned men, and those who wanted to get admission to the University had to enter into a discussion with these gate-keepers who often-times put them very hard questions. The chances of their success depended upon their ability to please and satisfy the examiners by hard discussion.[1]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[2] *o.c.*, II, p. 170.

I-Tsing also fully corroborates what his predecessor had noticed. He writes,[2] "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they (students) pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhī in Western India. There eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after being assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom."

Thus the examination consisted of "any process of inquiry", as Rashdall says[3] of the method followed in the European universities, "into the candidate's fitness as well as of a direct test of his scholastic attainments."

The University adopted this method only in the case of persons who, says Hiuen Tsiang, "come from other quarters", or again "students who come as strangers".[4]

We have thus shown that there were two classes of students studying at Nālandā, and hence the apparent contradiction as regards the curriculum followed at Nālandā.

Now the students did not take up all the subjects that have been enumerated. But there were some subjects which almost all the students had to study, which, in a sense, were "compulsory" as we now understand the term.

Being primarily a religious institution, Nālandā had made Theology compulsory for all the students.[5] And knowledge

---

1. *Ibid.*
2. p. 177.
3. o.c., p. 442.
4. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, pp. 170-171.
5. Cf. the words of Hwui Li, who says, "All study the Great Vehicle" o.c., p. 112.

of Theology meant a thorough grasp of all the works on Mahāyāna as well as an acquaintance with all the eighteen schools of Buddhism.[1] Mahāyāna, by the time the University had sprung up, consisted, on its philosophical or metaphysical side, of at least two schools, viz. *Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda* or Nihilism and Idealism.

Of these doctrines that came to be propounded and subsumed under the general term Mahāyāna, the one that became, more popular than others at Nālandā was the "sky-flower" doctrine.[2] This doctrine was fully explained in the *Suraṅgama Sūtra.* The *Sūtra* was composed at Nālandā and was probably the work of Dharmapāla. There was another *Sūtra* of the same name, but it was totally different from the one in question. For it was translated by Kumārajiva and recited by Fa-hien at the Vulture Peak near Rajagṛha. This *Sūtra* was brought to China and translated in A.D. 705. The commentary on the *Sūtra* says, "This *Sūtra* was brought from India and belongs to the Murdhābhishikta school".[3]

The doctrine is simply this : that all objective phenomena are only like sky-flowers, unreal, and vanishing.[4]

It is not difficult to identify this doctrine with the general principles of Mahāyāna, for, we are told, that the priests of Orissa studied the Little Vehicle and did not believe in the Great Vehicle. They said that it was a system of the "Sky-flower" heretics and that it had not been delivered by Buddha.[5] Hīnayānists looked upon this doctrine with such a great contempt that they even went to the length of identifying it with that of the Kāpālika sect.[6] Harṣa in order to defend this doctrine sent for four distinguished pandits of Nālanda, which was then the centre of "sky-flower" doctrine. The University, in response to the king's request, sent four eminent pandits; Sāgaramati, Prajñaraśmi, Siṁharaśmi and the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsiang).

---

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 1.

[2] See Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 159.

[3] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 110, n.

[4] See Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 159, n.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

Though the doctrine as such has been proved to belong to Mahāyāna, it is not easy to say to what particular branch of Mahāyāna doctrines it belongs, whether to that of Nāgarjuna which believes in "All Void", or to that of the Idealists, who believe that only ideas exist, i.e., nothing exists except in our idea : that objects have existence only when they are cognised.

The idea of a sky-flower connotes unreality. If by this unreality it is understood that everything is unreal, the doctrine is nothing but nihilism : the one that was propounded by Nāgārjuna. But if it suggests that all objects are unreal except when they are perceived by our cognitive faculty, then naturally the doctrine can be identified with that of the idealists, viz. the *Ālaya Vijñāna* of Maitreya and Āsaṅga.

Leaving aside this doctrine and its interpretation, we shall refer to some of the works composed for the propagation of Mahāyāna by the pandits of the University, and incidentally the interpretation they put on Mahāyāna.

Sthiramati in his *Mahāyānabhidharmasaṁyukta-saṅgiti-śāstra* thus speaks of Mahāyāna. "In the Mahāyāna, there are four secrets which include all kinds of truths that Buddha has preached". In another place, in the same work, we find him upholding the Mahāyāna which he calls *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* and running down the Hīnayāna (*Srāvakayāna*. Says he, "The question is : if the *Śrāvaka-piṭaka* and *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*, etc., are equally derived from the Dharmakāya, then, why should the people offering *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* with fragrances and wigs, produce great, limitless fortune and why is it otherwise in the case of *Śrāvakayāna*? The answer is, because, the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* is the foundation of the divine favour and is the source of pleasure of all people".[1]

This extolment of Mahāyāna, first seen by us in the *Prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra* of Nāgārjuna had been carried on by almost all his followers adding perhaps nothing of their own in the development of philosophy. Their main aim appears to be no other than the refutation of the heretic systems, whether they were Buddhist or Brāhmaṇic. Statements of like nature we find in Dharmapāla's *Vijñaptimātrasiddhi-śāstra* where he says the 5th *Pravartana* stage is low and inferior ; that is to say, the stage of two yāna (*Śrāvaka* and *Pratyeka Buddha yāna*) is meant only for the self-benefit and for this purpose suffering is depreciated, while search after *Nirvāṇa* and realisation of the truth of *Ātma-śūnyatā* only are advocated."[2]

Śīlabhadra, the successor of Dharmapāla to the Nālandā Chair, we learn from Chinese and Japanese sources,[3] had made three divisions of the whole Buddhism according to different characters of the doctrine through the three different categories. The three divisions being :

(i) The doctrine of existence (*Śarvastivāda*)
(ii) The doctrine of *Śūnyatā*.
(iii) The doctrine of middle-path.

The first doctrine apparently is that of the Hīnayānists, while that last two of the Mahāyānists. Kimura tells us that with the help of these three divisions, Śīlabhadra deprecated the Hīnayāna and extolled the Mahāyāna.[4]

---

[1] See Bundle, Vol. 8, p. 78 b-a *Chinese Tripiṭaka* ; Kimura, o.c., pp. 187-188.

[2] Wang Bundle, Vol. 10, p. 44-a ; Kimura, o.c., p. 188.

[3] Kimura, o.c., p. 189.

[4] *Ibid.*

Śāntideva in his *Śikṣā-Samuccaya*, whose summary we give below makes out a very strong case for Mahāyāna. He quotes from *Niyataniyalā vatāra mudra-Sūtra* wherein the Master tells the disciple, "Even so, Mañjuśrī, whosoever after producing the thought of enlightenment holdeth not fast, neither studieth the Great Vehicle, but has intercourse with such as follow the Disciple's Vehicle, and is intimate with them and readeth their doctrine, and maketh his study therein, and proveth it, and informeth him thereof, and rediteth its topics.........teacheth them, he thereby becometh dull of with, and is torn away and cast back from the Road of the Highest Wisdom. And whatsoever organ of wisdom, eye of wisdom this Bodhisattva may have gained through meditating upon enlightenment, this eye becomes dull and obstructed."[1]

Apart from these praises of Mahāyāna we have just referred to *Śikṣā-Samuccaya* is a very important work. For it is nothing but a collection of all the earlier Mahāyāna *Sūtras*. Thus, incidentally, it gives us a very exhaustive history of the Mahāyāna literature. The collection of *sūtras* also shows Śāntideva as a great scholar. He had not only read all the *sūtras* but mastered them so that he could quote them with ease. The work, as its name suggests, deals with '*Śikṣā*', that is to say, morality or discipline. The work is thus a collection of moral instructions.

In the opening verse the author says that one should cast off the fear of pain and danger. This will remove egoism, differences like "This is mine, this is his." He preaches the sacredness of life and exhorts us that it should be preserved. Then we are told that enlightenment of heart will follow if one fixes one's mind on one's faith. Speaking on restraint, he says that the Great Way (Mahāyāna) teaches restraint and one must know all its vital points.

---

[1] Śāntideva, *Śikṣā-Samuccaya*, Tr. by Bendall and Rouse, Indian Text Series, p, 7.

In the next verse he advises people to be charitable in everything, in one's person, enjoyments and merits. His advice to friends is that good friends should never be given up. He exhorts all to study the scriptures. To realise inward peace he prescribes that one should avoid fruitless waste, should develop mindfulness and devotion. To win popularity he advises steadfastness and gentle speech which will win over the worthy.

He is against complete renunciation of wordly necessities. For he says, "To preserve one's body one must use raiment and medicine". But he also strikes a note of warning that "Indulgence in one's own desires leads to one's downfall", and so he advocates the golden mean. Likewises he advises men to perform noble deeds, but asks them not to boast of their good deeds.

His advice, when everything is accomplished, is that one should repair to a forest-cell. While to achieve merit he asks people to be merciful and practise the "Void". We quote the last verse in extenso :

"With effort first, before all, place
Settled resolve and purpose firm.
Set mercy to thy face,
And so for thy merit's increase strive".

The concluding lines are indeed very noble, when he says :

"Perfection lies in self-denial,
In never leaving watchfulness,
It comes by understanding full,
By mindfulness and deepest thought".

The work of spreading the doctrine of *Vijñānavāda* was next taken up by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, two eminent pandits of the University in a work called *Tattvasaṅgraha.*

But, as we have grouped this aspect of the work of the University under a separate heading, we do not speak of their work here.

When these luminaries had ceased to sparkle, none else appeared in the literary firmament to dazzle by his light until we reached the eleventh century, when once more a brilliant star illuminated not only India but like his predecessors, shone over such distant lands as Ceylon and Sumatra in the South, and Tibet in the North. This star was the famous Dīpaṁkara, Śrījñāna, more popularly known as Atīśa. But, as he belonged more to the sister University of Vikramaśilā, we do not review his activities here. And as the times of Atīśa bring us almost to the end of Nālandā's career, we pass on to the consideration of the second important item of the curriculum.

The subject next to Theology and Philosophy which always went together with them was Logic. Though it was not compulsory, exigencies of those times, when debates and discussions were very frequent, made it almost compulsory for the students.

This science called *Hetuvidyā* in Sanskrit, as we have seen in our review of various curricula before the rise of the University of Nālandā, was still in a formative state. Different schools of thought, Buddhist, Jain, Sāṁkhya and others, had their own systems of Logic. And a student learning at Nālandā had to go through all the systems. For he was expected to defend the Buddhist-system against others, and this he could not do unless the knew the principles of other systems.

Let us now see what the contribution of the Nālandā pandits was to the development of Logic. Hitherto, up to about 400 A.D., logic was mixed with Philosophy and Religion. With the advent of Diṅnāga in the field, Logic came into prominence. Diṅnāga, as we shall see later on, was one of the greatest pandits of Nālandā.[1]

Among his many works on Logic, the three important ones that have come down to us are (1) *Nyāyadvāra*, (2) *Nyāyapraveśa*, and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. I-Tsing however ascribes the following eight works to Jina (Diṅnāga)[2]. These are :—

(1) *The Śāstra on the meditation on the Three Worlds.*
(2) *Sarvalakṣaṇadhyāna-Śāstra (Kārikā).*
(3) *The Śāstra on the meditation on the object.*
(4) *The Śāstra on the Gate of the Cause (Hetudvāra).*
(5) *The Śāstra on the Gate of the resembling cause.*
(6) *The Nyāyadvāra-(tarka)-Śāstra (ascribed to Nāgñrjuna wrongly).*
(7) *Prajñapti-hetu saṁgraha (?) Śāstra.*
(8) *The Śāstra on the grouped inferences.*

His principal contribution seems to the rejection of *upanāya* and *Nigamana* as necessary premises even in a *Parārthānumāna*. We said it was principal, even though he is credited with the following contributions :—

1. "The proposition, the point of disputation, or the Thesis, is a judgment, not the terms of a judgment".[3]

2. Rejection of the five membered syllogism: Maitreya spoke of two kinds of thesis *Sādhya*, *Ātmasambandha* and *Parasambandha* and Vasubandhu described two kinds of syllogism, one of five parts and the other of two[4], it was Diṅnāga who took the decisive step of rejecting *upanāya* and *Nigamana* as superfluous even in a *Parārthannumāna*.

---

[1] I-Tsing, o,c., pp. 186-187.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 211.

[3] Sugiura, *Hindu Logic*, p. 24.

[4] Vidyabhushana, o,c., o. 269.

3. "The significance of the middle term (called Hetu) for inference and hence for the theory of reasoning, is for the first time discussed by Diṅnāga and the result of his study is the famous doctrine of the "Three Phase of *Hetu*" or the three essentials of a good *Hetu*, which are enumerated in our text as *Pakṣadharmatvam*, *Sapakṣasattvam* and *Vipakṣa Ca-asattvam*.

Lastly, the introduction of a universal proposition to take the place of old analogical examples".[2]

These have been questioned and their value as contributions has been disputed by Dhruva.[3] His arguments are briefly summarised as under :—

As regards 1, he says that though the doctrine is found in his work *Pramāṇasamuccaya* .Ch. II, yet it does not appear for the first time in his logic or is peculiar to him, because this theory, viz. *Tadviśesanata* of the *Anumeya* is held by the Brāhmaṇa logicians as well as by Diṅnāga and his school.

As to 2, he says, "If the logical theory which does away with *upanāya* and *Nigamana* from the *Parāthanumāna* be sound—and of this I am not altogether sure—the credit for the reform evidently belongs to Diṅnāga".

With reference to 3, he says that the *Trairūpa* is in no way his discovery, because it can be gathered from Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* on N.S.V. 34.

As to Keith's view, he not only endorses Dr. Randle's opinion that "so far as I know no evidence has yet been produced to show that the doctrine of *Vyāpti* originated in

---

1. Sugiura, o.c., p. 35.
2. Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*. p. 87. I do not find this statement in Keith. Words to this effect are found in Sugiura, o.c., p. 35 and Vidyabhusana, *o.c.*, p. 295-296.
3. A.B. Dhruva, *Nyāyaprveśa*, G.O.S., No. XXXVIII. p. XXIII.

the Bauddha rather than in the *Vaiśeṣika* school", but he adds that there is positive proof in the *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Nyāya Sūtras* and in Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* to show that the doctrine was held by *Nyāya* and *Vaiśesika* writers long before the time of Diṅnāga.

Apart from his contribution to Logic. it is interesting to note how he looks at the whole process of inference. He says "*Sarvoyam anumānānumeyavyavahāro buddhyārūdhenaiva dharmādharmibhāvena na bahihśadasattyam apekṣate*". From this Keith argues that Diṅnāga clearly states that all the relations of probans and probandum have nothing whatever to do with external reality.........but depend upon the intellect.[1] We can say therefore that he belonged to the Idealist school of Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu, "according to which all appearances are but transformations of the principle of consciousness by its inherent movement, and none of our cognitions are produced by any external objects with to us seem to be existing outside us and to be generating our ideas".[2]

"Dharmakīrti", writes I-Tsing, "made a further improvement in Logic (after Jina).[3] The "improvement" referred to by I-Tsing appears to be complete formulation of the *Trairūpa* theory. In his *Nyāya-bindu* he says, *anumānam dvidhā svārtham parārthaṁ ca. Tatra svārtham liṅgādanumeya*

---

1. See Keith, *The Authorship of Nyāyapraveśa, I.H.Q.*, IV, p. 19. Cf. also "For Dignāga, therefore, the whole of knowledge, despite its contact at one point with an unknowable reality, is made up of ideas involved in both perception and inference. These ideas are the product of our mental activity and are not created by any external cause". *ILA*, p. 102.

2. See Surendra Nath Das Gupta, *Philosophy of Vasubandhu* in *Viṁśatika*, and *Triṁśika. Ibid.*, p. 36. Cf. also Śaṅkara, *Brahma Sūtra-Bhāṣya*, adhyāya II, pāda II, sūtra 28, specially the phrase "*Buddhyāruḍha*".

3. o.c., p. 182.

jñānam tadanumānam. Trairūpyam punar liṅgasyānumeya sattvameva. Sapakṣe sattvavema. Asapakṣe cāsattvameva niścitam. Trairūpāṇi ca triṇyeva liṅgam anupalabdhiḥ svabhāvakārya ceti, Inference is of two kinds: For oneself and for others. Inference for one's self is defined as the knowledge of the inferable derived through the reason or middle term bearing its three forms or characteristics. The three forms of the reason are the following :

(1) The middle term must abide in the minor term.

(2) The middle term must abide only in cases which are homologous with the major term.

(3) The middle term must never abide in cases which are heterologous from the major term.

The three kinds of middle term are :—

(1) Identity (*Svabhāva*).

(2) Effect (*Kārya*).

(3) Non-perception (*Anupalabdhi*).[1]

He does not differ in his division of inference from the Brāhmaṇa or Jaina logicians. He makes a departure, however, from the latter logicians when he says that Non-perception, Identity and Causality—these three—are the marks of a syllogism. According to him, then, if for instance, in the traditional example of fire on a hill, we can show the identity, and causal connection between fire, smoke and the hill and non-perception of the mark in any heterologous instance, we would be justified in inferring that there is fire on the hill because there is smoke.

But if the arguments that were advanced against Diṅnāga's claim to be the author of *Trairūpa* theory, were to be repeated against Dharmakīrti also, it would be difficult to say what "further improvement" Dharmakīrti made in the then existing Logic.

---

[1] From Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 310.

We would, however, like to draw the attention of Dhruva to the fact that even the contemporaries and successors of Dharmakīrti regarded Dharmakīrti as the author of the *Trairūpa* theory.[1] This point will be made explicit from the fact that Pātrakesari severely criticised the *Trāirūpa* theory, and he in turn was challenged by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, two eminent pandits of Nālandā. Why should he take up the challenge unless the challenge was directed against a school which he represented ? This school, we think, was no other than that of Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti.

To make the point very clear we lay before the reader the charges and countercharges. Pātrakesari brought the following charge against the *Trairūpa* theory.

Anyathānupapannalvam yatra tatra trayena kim.
Nanyathanupapannatvam yatra tatra trayena kim.

That is to say : what is the use of the three marks where (the conclusion) can be arrived at without them ? (Again) of what use are the three marks where you cannot arrive at the conclusion in spite of them ?

And he further argues that the fallacy of *Anaikāntika* will be the result, if we argue with Dharmakīrti that the inference is right which is characterised by Identity, Causality and Non-perception. For instance : If from the fact that the sons of A are brown, we argue that A's future son will also be brown (*sādhya*), because they are related as father and son, because other sons of A are also brown, because the sons

---

1. For a fuller discussion, see Pathak, *Dharmakīrti's Trilakṣaṇahetu attacked by Pātrakesari and defended by Śāntarakṣita and Dharmakīrti and Bhāmaha*, *A.B.O.R.I.*, XII, pp. 71-80 and 372-95 respectively, where Pathak has shown almost conclusively that Diṅnāga-*alias* Bhadanta and Dharmakīrti were the real authors of the *Trairūpa* or *Trilakṣaṇa* theory.

of B are not brown,—even then the possibility of the son being born fair and not brown is not excluded.

To this objection Sāntarakṣita replies that the Opposition has committed a fundamental blunder by assuming a reason (*hetu*) which is no reason at all. The relation of being a son (*Tatputrattva*) is not the cause as it is neither Identity, Causality nor Non-perception. Invariable concomitance therefore, is not possible, that is to say the son may be fair.[1]

Through this controversy we know incidentally that the line of eminent logicians was not closed after its greatest exponent Diṅnāga. But, right up to the end of about the eighth century, contribution to the development of Logic was continued and Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla were the representatives of the 8th century as Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti were of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries respectively. Buddhist Logic has been placed in the proper world perspective by Th. Stcherbatsky in his two monumental volumes having the same title published in 1932. This was the first work of its kind, based exclusively on the works of Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara. As the editor of *2500 Years of Buddhism* says, it removed the prejudice against Indian logic, viz. that there is no positive philosophy, that Aristotle's treatment was final (p. 392).

Another way in which the University tried to convey its teachings to the intelligentsia was by composition of encyclopaedic works dealing with Theology, Philosophy, Logic, Grammar, etc. One such work that we have been fortunate enough, to recover is *Tattvasaṅgraha*[2] along with a most illuminating commentary on it called the *Pañjikā*.

---

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Pathak, *Dharmakīrti's Trilakṣaṇa hetu.* etc, *A.B.O.R.I.*, XII, pp. 71-81 for the citations from Pātrakesari, Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita,

[2] G.O.S., No. XXX,

Sāntarakṣita wrote the text, while Kamalaśīla, his pupil, wrote the commentary. While speaking about Nālandā's contribution to the development of Logic we said that Śāntarakṣita was a famous logician of the 8th century A.D. In this work we find him and his pupil as versatile philosophers who not only survey all the whole of the past, but also the contemporary philosophical systems and even refute them one by one and thus strengthen the foundations of *Vijñānavāda* laid down by Āsaṅga.

Sāntarakṣita examines no less than 27 different systems or rather 26 different schools of thought. They are :

(1) The *Sāṁkhya.*
(2) *Nyāya* (believing in God).
(3) *Seśvara Sāṁkhya.*
(4) *Svābhāvikajagadvāda* (Theory of Self-Existence).
(5) *Śabdabrahmavāda.*
(6) *Aupaniṣada Puruṣavāda* (Doctrine of Anthropomorphic God)
(7) Doctrine of the Soul (of the Naiyāikaṣ, Vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṁsakas, Sāṁkhyas, Digambara Jains, Advaitins and Vāstīputrīyas, a sect of the Buddhists).
(8) The doctrine of *Sthirabhāva* (permanent entities).
(9) The theory of *Karmaphala*, that is the relation between action and its results.
(10) The doctrine of Categories (of Gotama and Kaṇāda).
(11) The doctrine of Qualities.
(12) The doctrine of Action.
(13) The doctrine of Generality.
(14) The doctrine of Particularity.
(15) The doctrine of Inherence.
(16) The doctrine of *Śabdārtha* (that is, the word and its corresponding object).

(17) The theory of Perception.

(18) The theory of Inference.

(19) The theories regarding other kinds of proofs, viz (1A) *Śabda*, (ii) *Upamāna*, (iii), *Arthāpatti* (presumption). (iv) *Abhāva* (non-existence), (v) *Yuktyānupalabdhivicāra* (affirmative-negative inseparable connection and non-perception), (vi) *Saṁbhava* (probability), (vii) *Aitilhya-pratibhā* (tradition and intelligence).

(20) *Syādvāda* (Doctrine of the perfect knowledge of things).

(21) *Traikalyavāda*

(22) The *Lokāyata* doctrine.

(23) The doctrine of the external objects.

(24) The belief in *Śṛti* (Revealed Literature)

(25) The theory of Self-evidence.

(26) The doctrine of Omniscience.

In short, Śāntarakṣita takes notice of all the most important philosophies, viz. the *Sāṁkhya*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Mimāṁsā*, *Jaina*, *Lokāyata* and lastly the *Vedānta*.

In order to acquaint the reader with the nature of these refutations as well as the style of Buddhist writers we have selected Śāntarakṣita's criticism of the *Satkāryavāda* or the doctrine that the effect is existent in the cause, Śāntarakṣita thus states the doctrine of the *Sāṁkhya* :

The Sāṁkhyas say that the effect is existent in the cause for the following reasons : (i) a thing that is non-existent cannot be produced, (ii) that some material cause is required for producing the desired effect, (iii) the impossibility of everything being produced (from everything), (iv) only those causes that are capable can produce that which is possible to produce, (v) the existence of the effect. Moreover, the Sāṁkhyas maintain that the *Pradhana* (Primordial Matter) is the cause of the measurability or limitations of different objects. (*Bhedānāṁtu parimāṇāt*) the power (to produce) and the power of action (*Śaktitah pravṛtteśca*) ; of the distinctions between cause and effect (*Kāraṇa kārya vibhāgāt*) and lastly of the integrity of the universal forms (*Avibhāgād-vaiśvarūpyasya*).

Śāntarakṣita adduces the following arguments against the *Sāṁkhya* doctrine : Those causes which they have set forth for proving the prior existence of the effect in the cause. He then explains how this is possible. First, it effects are already in the cause, what is there that the cause can produce ? For instance, if curds are already existent in milk what is there that the milk can produce ? To state it more clearly : the effect, since it is existent, is not to be produced by any cause. Hence, says Śāntarakṣita, the postulation of cause is not at all necessary, since like the other (*Puruṣa*) it cannot accomplish anything. The Sāṁkhyas might reply that there is something for the cause to perform, viz. that it has to make the effect manifest (even though it is existent in the cause) and that therefore it is not redundant. Śāntarakṣita replies : If the effect was existing formerly, then the objection is not met at all. If it was not existent how can the non-existant effect be produced from the cause ? Hence as there is nothing to be performed there is no necessity of the material cause ; of the assumption that certain effects can be obtained from certain fixed causes ; of the assumption that only capable causes can produce things that can be created ; of the assumption of the activity (*of the Pradhāna*). Even the designation of 'cause' is also indefensible.

In the following verses Śāntarakṣita attacks Sāṁkhya tenets from other standpoints.

He says that means of knowledge do two things ; first, they remove doubt and ignorance ; secondly, they inspire or give correct and definite knowledge.

But this, however, is not possible in the *Satkāryavāda*. Because of the theory of prior existence neither doubt, etc., can be removed, nor do definite knowledge possible. Consequently concludes Śāntarakṣita : the whole doctrine is absolutely unsound. Sāṁkhyas cannot maintain that the certainty which was existent is caused by means, because that would compromise their position ; nor can they say that the means make what is not manifest, because there is no increase of form because of non-distinction.

Thus neither is there the possibility of the knowledge of a thing, nor the possibility of destroying the cover which prevents the acquiring of the object, as the object to be obtained is always there, and secondly the question of cover, etc. is acquisition impossible. He then proceeds to attack the doctrine of the Three Guṇas.

As everything cannot produce everything, even though all are constituted of the same three Guṇas, even so everything cannot produce everything, even though the effect is non-existent.

The Sāṁkhyas might rejoin that the Buddhists—Vijñānavādins—cannot postulate fixed powers for the cause, because they assume that the objects do not exist (except in the mind). But if they do not exist, then the principle of fixed cause will have to be accepted.

To this objection Śāntarkṣita replies : Not so. Because the external objects do not exist with us and therefore the designation of fixed cause does not arise at all, while the reality (*Vijñāna*), which is devoid of forms and of disguises, remains untouched.

(In fact) objects have no names and forms because they are nothing but mere contrivances and denotations. They are of many kinds and operate with regard to an object which has no distinction, as they are accustomed to act.

The importance of *Tattvasaṅgraha* can never be over estimated. Concerned as we are with the study of Nālandā, the work is a very useful finger-post. It points to the fact that Nālandā was not only a Buddhist University, but a University in which all subjects Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist, were taught. Moreover, the refutation of so many schools of thought pre-supposes a previous study of them by the teachers as well as the students, who, as we can see from Kamalśīla's commentary, were required to explain and elucidate what with their teachers said briefly and concisely.

Another most striking and wonderful feature of this encyclopaedia is the reference even to the most contemporary views and their authors.[1] References, for instance, are made to Kumārila, Pātrakeṣari and others who were either the contemporaries of Śāntarakṣita or his immediate predecessors. This is suggestive of the fact that there was a continuous flow of students going in and out of the Temple of Learning that its pandits could keep in touch with even the latest developments in the realm of thought. And the wonderful and far-reaching effect that could be produced by such an all-embracing work like *Tattvasaṅgraha* among the Schoolmen can be better understood than expressed. It would create a new impulse to refute the charges levelled against them resulting in a further and deeper introspective study of their systems with a view to completely overcoming the imperfections that might have probably inadvertently crept in their works. It is healthy controversies of this nature that would lead to the spread of new ideas. And "it is probable that the *Tattvasaṅgraha* was written mainly to refute the arguments and theories of Kumārila and Uddyotakāra", as Benoytosh Bhattacharya says.[2] It would not be exaggeration to say that the emergence of Śaṅkara as the champion of the old Upanisadic *Advaitamārga* was solely due to such a work. It is on account of him primarily that India, which since the time of Buddha for centuries was overridden with the doctrines of Nihilism, Non-Soul etc., was once more made to believe in the existence of the Soul.

---

[1] See *Tattvasaṅgrha*, Foreword, G.O.S. No. XXX

[2] *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Foreword, o.c., p.LXXXII-III.

The credit for all that *Tattvasaṅgraha* achieved and contributed to the development of Philosophy, Logic and other kindred subjects must be given to the University of Nālandā, for both Sāntarkṣita, and Kamalaśīla were its alumni. So the Alma Mater must share in the glory of this encyclopaedia.

Besides *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Śāntarakṣita wrote other works some of which are listed below :

1. *Vajravidāraṇināmadhāraṇiṭīkā sūtrantopadeśa.*
2. *Sarvatathāgata purva-praṇidhāna viśeṣa vistāra sūtrantopadeśa.*
3. *Vājradhara-sangīta-bhāgavata-stotratīkā.*
4. *Aṣṭatathāgata stotra.*
5. *Hevajrodbhava-Kuruku layāh pañca-mahopadeśa.*

But there is one work which is not mentioned in the Tibetan Catalogue, which has been discovered by Dr. Bhattacharya, It is a Tantric work entitled *Tattvasiddhi.* The work formulates the doctrine of *Mahāsukhavāda*, a development of the *Vijñānavāda.*[1] From this work we learn definitely that the Śāntarakṣita was a follower of Vajrayāna, because *Tattvassaṅgraha* only shows him as a *Vijñānavādī.*[2] No fitter epithet than the one given at the end of this work could be applied to Śāntarakṣita's erudition and scholarship.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. XXI.

[2] *Ibid.*

It calls him '*Aśeṣapara sidhānta sāgarapāra*' "one who has crossed the ocean of all the manifold doctrines formulated by others". And his *Tattvasaṅgraha* truly reveals him as a man who was master of the different schools of Philosophy, Logic, Grammar, etc.

We shall close our account of the work done by Śāntarakṣita with a few remarks on his style. Śāntarakṣita writes with a charming facility and shows a wonderful mastery over the syllogistic reasoning.[1] From his refutation of the Sāṁkhya's *Satkāryavāda*, which we have referred to, we see how he meets his opponent. He first tries to understand his position as clearly as possible, or what is only another way of putting it, he states the case of his opponent. This task he performs so admirably that any one who reads the book would think it is the *Sāṁkhya* himself who is arguing his case.

Equally charming and instructive are his plans of attack. He never reveals his own views. But with the impartiality of a tribunal, he points out mistakes and inconsistencies of his opponent's tenets.[2] And gradually, he goes on to prove that if the opponent would stick to his arguments, it would lead him to an absurd and ridiculous position, and then concludes that his position is thoroughly untenable even from his own point of view. When this is done, we see Śāntarakṣita in the garb of a propagandist. He recounts the advantages of his own system, and says that all those faults and inconsistencies which were shown in the opponent's system would never occur in his own.

Kamalaśīla, though he was known to the Tibetans as a teacher at Nālandā of *Tantra* and Logic, and as one who finally laid the roots of Tantric Buddhism by defeating the

---

[1] Cf. *o.c.*, verse 15, p. 22.

[2] See, for instance, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, *o.c.*, verse 17-18-19-20.

Hoshang, he appears to us as a great logician and philosopher primarily through his most learned commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha.* We shall not dilate much upon the value of his work because much that has been said of *Tattvasaṅgraha* will be true of his commentary.

However, the one distinct advantage of this commentary is that Kamalaśīla has given us a complete history of philosphers and logicians with the names of the authors whose views are referred to by his guru Śāntarakṣita.

After Kamalaśīla we do not meet with any famous pandits in the realm of philosophy or Logic till we come to the eleventh century when we meet Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna, a pandit equally famous as Śāntarakṣita. But as he belonged more to the sister University of Vikramaśilā, we need not speak of the part played in the spread of Buddhist culture.

It appears from the records of Hiuen Tsiang's biographer as well as of I-Tsing that there was an astronomical observatory at Nālandā, and that Astronomy formed part of the student's curriculum, Hwui Li, for instance, says, "The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds".[1] And if we now read the above remark alongside the following : "From the windows one may see how the winds and clouds (produce new forms) and the soaring eaves, the conjunctions of the sun and the moon may be observed"[2] then two interpretations are possible. Either the words are a poetic description of the beauty and grandeur of the place ; or they signify, as Havell thinks, that Nālandā was a royal observatory.[3] His supposition is also based on another fact, namely, that Nālandā had a clepsydra, of a water-clock which according to Hiuen Tsiang gave correct time for all Magadha.[1]

---

[1] o.c., p. 111.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization*, p. 141.

From references in Tibetan works to Nālandā as a great centre of Tantric studies or to an individual who was a professor of *Tantra* at Nālandā,[2] and also from a number of books, evidently Tantric, ascribed to the pandits of Nālandā in the Chinese,[3] it would appear that *Tantra* was, perhaps, a very popular subject with the students as well as professors in the Nālandā University.[4] Now one could have only observed that *Tantra* was taught at Nālandā, and mentioned a few books written by the Nālandā pandits. Were it not for the fact that Tantra and the whole cult, which goes under the name of Tantrism, is even after the publication of many works on it, regarded as 'gibberish.'[5] For references, as the one above quoted, cast a slur, even though incidentally, one the education that was given at the Nālandā University. In order, therefore, to assess the value of Nālandā education, it is thought desirable to give a short history and nature of the *Tantras* or rather of the cult, that goes under the name of Tantrism or Tantricism.

---

[1] *Ibid.* Havell seems to be wrong in attributing the statement to Hiuen Tsiang, for nowhere in Hiuen Tsiang's or his biographer's records can we trace the remark. It is I-Tsing, however, who gives a detailed description of a clepsydra, and its working at Nālandā. See *o.c.*, p. 114-46. Cf. also the following words from *Nan-hae-ki-kwei-nin-fa-chuen*, Beal, *J.R.A.S.* XIII (N.S), p. 571. "This is the only temple in which by Imperial order, a water clock is kept to determine the right time."

[2] Kamalaśīla was a professor of *Tantras*. Vidyabhusana, *H.I.L.*. p. 327.

[3] *Catalogue du fond Tibetain*.

[4] We have even epigraphical evidence to show that Nālandā was a renowned centre of Tantric studies. We are told by the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāladeva (11. 37-42, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 325) that "Nālandā was the abode of *bhikṣus* and Bodhisattvas well-versed in the *Tantras*".

[5] Winternitz, *I.H.Q.*, IX, No. 1, March, 1933, p. 4.

Tantrism, particularly that which was prevalent at Nālandā, had its origin amongst the various religious and even philosophical practices that were followed by the Hindus as well as Buddhists. It had something to do with religion. This has been conceded by all. But the question is : what is Tantrism and in what period of Indian history did it spring up ? These, however, are difficult questions to decide. Winternitz, for instance, says, "The term 'Tantra' ought to be restricted to the texts connected with Śakti worship. Tantra texts in this sense cannot be proved to have existed before the 7th century, though some of the elements constituting the *Tantras* may have existed before that time."[1] Speaking of the elements of the *Tantras*, he says : "Some of these may be traced as far back as the times of the *Yajurveda*, where we already find the use of mystic syllables and words, which play such an important part in the Mantras of Tantric works. Magic also, which is one of the elements of Tantra literature, of course, reaches back to the *Atharvaveda*. But there is no line of 'evolution' from *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* to the *Tantras*".

Bhattacharyya, on the other hand, holds that "the seeds of Tantric Buddhism were already there in the original Buddhism in the form of *Mudrās*, *Mantras*, *Maṇḍalas*, *Dhāraṇis*, *Yoga*, and *Samādhi* as a means to attain happiness and prosperity in this world."[2] These elements, together with some of the changes that took place in Buddhism, from time to time, were responsible, according to him, for the actual origin of Tantrism.

Before we review these changes that Bhattacharyya speaks of, we must state briefly what exactly the nature of Tantrism

---

[1] *Idib.*

[2] See *Two Vajrayāna works*, G.O.S., NO. XLIV. Introduction, p.x.

Tantrism was a form of Buddhism which, unlike the primitive Buddhism, advocated recital of *Mantras* and *Dhāraṇis*, practice of *Yoga* and *Samādhi*, and lastly worship not only of Buddha in different *Mudrās*, but even worship of a host of god and goddesses. Some of its features, which have been severely criticised, are pestilent dogmas and practices such as the ones quoted below.[1]

Though Buddhism had spread in the time of Buddha himself, continuous efforts were made after his death to make it still more acceptable to the people, because on its philosophical as well as on its religious side. Buddhism was found wanting. To improve it philosophically, Aśvaghoṣa gave a new interpretation of *Nirvāṇa.*[2] Nāgārjuna introduced his theory of *Śūnyai*[3] and incidentally Mahāyāna-while Vijñānavādins, under Maitreyanātha, suppressed the element of *Vijñāna* a positive element, in the original conception of the *Śūnya*, which was pure vacuity. The masses still remained dissatisfied. For even though they led a strictly moral life, and renounced all the pleasures of life, still nothing—not even these new philosophical ideas of Śūnyavādins and Vijñānavādins—could assure them that they would be able to attain cessation from the birth circle and escape form misery.

To satisfy the people on this point, two new doctrines were introduced into Buddhism. These were the *Mahā-*

---

1. *Mātṛbhaginīputrīṁśca kāmayetyastu sādhakah sa siddhiṁ vipulāṁ gaeihet mahayānāgvadharmatāṁ mātaraṁ Buddhasya vibhoh kāmayanna ca sīdhyate tasya Buddhatyaṁ nirvikalpasya dhīmatah.* For other practices see *Two Vajrayāna Works*, o.c., p. 23.
2. See Aśvaghoṣa, *Saundarānanda Kāvya*, referred to by Bhattacharya, A Peep into the later Buddhism, "*A.B.O.R.I*, X,p. 2-3.
3. Cf. His definition of *Nirvāṇa* as a condition of mind about which neither existence nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the two, can be predicted, expressed in Sanskrit as *astināsti tadubhayaṣcatus koṭivinirmuktam.*

sukhavāda and the doctrine of *Karuṇā*. Unlike the previous doctrines—*Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda*—which were primarily philosophical—these were religious. The followers of the former (*Mahāsukha*) satisfied the masses by holding out a promise that even when *Nirvāṇa* is attained, there remains something, which is *Vijñāna* and continues to remain in eternal bliss and happiness. The *Śūnya*, they said, is *Nirātmā* and the *Bodhicita* or Bodhimind, when emancipated plunges into *Śūnya* or in the embrace of *Nirātmā* and remains there in eternal bliss and happiness.

But it was the doctrine of *Karuṇā* that was satisfying to the masses. According to this doctrine the Bodhisattva should sacrifice everything, his personal happiness and even his own merits for suffering humanity. He must strive hard through a continuous chain of births and rebirths for the emancipation of his fellow beings.[1]

Thus the Buddhists got what up to now they lacked. Through the cult of Bodhisattva and Avalokiteśvara, a personal god was being slowly introduced into Budhism, though we have nothing to say against the theory of *Karuṇā* itself. It was actually lofty, noble, and ennobling. And as Dr. Bhattacharyya has rightly said, "The idea of *Karuṇā* is unique in the history of any religion and Buddhism can well be proud of it."[2]

But under cover of this lofty ideal—especially of the doctrine of *Mahāsukhavāda*—as we shall show later on the priesthood committed and encouraged some very gross and obscene acts of immorality, in the name of religion. And

---

1. The doctrine of *Karuṇā* was perhaps, first, preached in the *Sukhāvativyūha*, a work of about the first century B.C. It was commented upon by Nāgārjuna in his *Daśabhūmivibhāṣāstra*. The doctrine was fully evolved in works like *Kāraṇḍavyūha* etc. See. Max Mūller, *Sukhavativyūha*, pp. 5-6-7 and p. XIX, also *Karaṇḍavyūha*, *A.B.O.R.I*, X, p. 6.
2. "A Peep into the later Buddhism". *A.B.O.R.I*, X, p. 6.

sanction for many of the uncommon and grossly immoral practices was sought by the misrepresentation and misuse of the doctrines of *Karuṇā* and *Mahāsukhavāda*.

With a view to finding easy acceptance among the people for these views which were in a sense against the teaching of original Buddhism, their propounders found a novel way. They preached them in the form of *Sangītīs*.[1] Almost all *Tantras* are in this form and are said to have been delivered by Buddha in an Assembly of the Faithful. Thus in a secret way, and one that was believed to be authoritative, the *Tantras* and their many practices, good and bad, were handed down from the *guru* to the *śiṣya*, till they gradually filtered down to the people.

Another reason why Tantrism and Tantric practices were easily accepted by the Buddhists was that this new cult allowed a liberty of action which was forbidden by early Buddhism.[2]

Other circumstances were also favourable for the rise of Tantrism. From very early times, belief in superstition, magic and sorcery was prevalent in India. Even Buddha seems to have believed in miraculous powers, for we find him in the *Vinaya Texts* scolding his disciples for making an unwarranted use of his powers.[3] So when Tantrism, with its various sorts of *Mantras*, *Dhāriṇīs* and other practices promised miraculous powers it was readily seized upon by the people.

---

[1] *Sangītī* is the name of a form of Buddhist literature where, in the very opening lines, Buddha is introduced in an Assembly of the Faithful in monasteries well-connected with the life of Buddha. In Tāntric Sangītīs, however, Buddha is introduced in an assembly of women. See Bhattacharya, *A.B.O.R.I.*, X, p. 5 ; also *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, G.O.S., LIII, Introduction.

[2] Revolts against the moral code are visible even in the *Vinayapitaka*. For a similar revolr, but of a much stronger kind, the Mahāsāṅghikas were expelled from the Church by the Sthavirs, who refused to yield on the moral question and much as to make any relaxation in the code.

[3] *Mahāvagga*, V, 1, 5. 7 ; VI, 34, 1. 2.

To sum up, therefore, the causes of the rise of Tantrism which was mainly due to the two inherent defects in Buddhism :

(1) It did not offer a suitable and convincing, and at the same time popular, explanation of *Nirvāṇa*, which was the goal of all Buddhists. Consequently in trying to remedy this, and to find out newer explanations, the ideas of *Mahāsukha*, etc., crept in, which brought about the moral enervation which could be seen in the Tantric Age.

(2) There was a revolt against the strict and unnatural discipline enjoined upon, his followers by Buddha to which sanction had apparently been given by the doctrines of *Mahāsukha* and *Karuṇā*, according to which salvation was not incompatible with indulgence in worldly pleasures.

(3) Suitable ground for the spread of Tantrism was found in the existence of beliefs in superstition, magic, sorcery, etc.

It is very difficult to say when Buddhism entered on this phase. It began to assert itself and became a living faith about the 7th century A.D., though traditionally its first promulgation is attributed to Asaṅga, who flourished about the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[1] Tibetan opinion definitely tells us that Tantrism is of very ancient origin, and was transmitted in the most secret manner[2] from the time of Asaṅga down to the time of Dharmakīrti[1]. Waddell, too holds the same view.[2]

---

[1] See above, Chap. II, p. 19, n. 5,

[2] The reason why it was handed down secretly from *guru* to *sisya* down to Dharmakīrti is to be found in the fact that Tantric practices could not be performed openly and publicly because they violated all the rules of conduct and discipline prescribed by Buddha, while in the seventh century it passed into the hands of such bold men as Indrabhuti, Saraha and Padmasaṁbhava, who were not afraid to preach them publicly.

Some scholars believe that *Sukhāvatīvyūha*. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, etc., are the earliest works which peak of Tāntric practices.[3] It is, however, in the *Guhyasamāja* that we find a full and complete statement of Tantrism. It is here that we meet with a systematic treatment of *mantras*, with the theory of *Karuṇā* (and how it was used by the Bodhisattvas to get emancipation for the people by the practice of five *makāras* and other prohibited rites) with a full explanation of the theory of Dhyānī Buddhas,[4] which was in a sense the central theme of Tantrism, and many other details which are associated with Tantrism.

From a reading of the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Sādhanamālā*, it would appear that the sole aim of the Tantrics was to obtain *Siddhi*, which is defined as the "attainment of superhuman powers of the mind, body or the sense organs."[5]

---

[1] Tāranātha, o.c., p. 201.

[2] *Lamaism*, pp. 14-15.

[3] Winternitz, however, says that *Mañjuśrīmūlkalpa* is not very ancient : its final reaction may have taken place between the 8th and the 10th centuries A.D. See *I.H.Q.*, IX, No. 1, 1933, p. 5.

[4] The theory is explained in the appendix.

[5] Of the five varieties of the *Sidhis* : Janmaja, Tapoja, Samādhija, and Ausadhija, the Buddhists were concerned mainly with the Mantraja or magic syllables. Moreover, the *Siddhis* of the Buddhists were somewhat different from the eight *Siddhis* acknowledged by the Hindus. With the Buddhists the eight *Siddhis* are : *Khaḍga*, *Añjana*, *Pādalepa*, *Antardhāna*, *Rasa Rasāyana*, *Khecara*, *Bhucara* and *Pātāla*. Dr. Bhattacharyya has tried to give an explanation of these and we shall repeat it here. (Bhattacharyya : *Sādhanamālā*. Intro. P. LXXXV.)

The *first* signifies the perfection which enables a man to conquer battle with the help of a sword (on which *mantras* have been muttered.) The *second* evidently means the magic unguent which enables the wearer to perceive the treasures buried under the earth

Apart from these ideal achievements, the Sādhaka, as it appears from the numerous *Sādhanas*, was anxious to have emancipation whether from ordinary earthly ills, diseases etc., or from this wordly life.[1]

The *Sādhanas* and their *Mantras*, however, could not be recited by any one who liked to do so. The prospective Tantric must be properly initiated into the Tantric practices through the right channel—viz. the *guru*. And no common *guru* would do. He, in fact, must possess all the qualifications laid down in the Tantric works.[2] His duty was to initiate the *śiṣya*, to give him different kinds of *abhiṣeka*, and then instruct him on how to achieve the *siddhis*.[3] Likewise, only that student could approach the *guru* for the knowledge of the *Siddhis* and Tantric practices, who had the requisite qualities.[4]

We are not concerned here with the various inconsistencies that appear in these rules. But we may note here

---

or otherwise hidden from the eyes. The *third* refers to the mysterious ointment, which when applied to legs enables a man to move about everywhere without his body being perceived by anybody. The *fourth* refers to the mysterious power which enables a man to disappear miraculously before the very eyes of other people. The *fifth* probably refers to the metallic solution which turns baser metals into gold, or the medicine which gives immunity from death. The *sixth* is the power which enables one to move in the firmament. The *seventh* gives one power to go at will anywhere in the world in a moment. The *eighth* refers to the power of going to the other world.

[1] See *Sādhanamālā*, *o.c.*, p. LXXXIII.

[2] See *Two Vajrayāna Works*, G.O.S., No. XLIV, pp. 71-72.

[3] The *guru* occupied such a high position in the Vajrayāna (more popular name of Tantrism) that he was idiolised as Buddha, Sugata, and Dharmakāya. Even the bestowal of emancipation lay in his power.

[4] See *Two Varjayāna Works*, pp. 73-74. Cf. also *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXX, p. 92.

that what, on a superficial reading, appears to be inconsistencies perhaps refers to the different kinds of pupils corresponding to the fourfold division of the Tantras.[1]

"The Mantras", as Dr. Bhattacharyya has rightly said, "constitute the back-bone of Tantric worship and of Vajrayāna". They are of innumerable varities, such as Bīja, Hṛdaya, Pūjā, etc. For the most part they are meangingless syllables. We can hardly say with certainty who introduced these in Buddhism, though Vajrayānists attribute their promulgation to Buddha himself. Whoever be the originator, it seems that the *Mantras* of Vajrayāna are a development of the *Dhāraṇīs*. According to Kern, these *Dhāraṇīs* seemed to have been introduced into Buddhism for the benefit of the less cultured followers who did not care so much for the *Nirvāṇa* as they did for material prosperity in this world. We can trace the evolution of the *Mantras* from the *Dhāraṇīs* and even earlier works by examining only one Tantric work, namely, *Aṣṭasāsahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Hṛdaya Sūtra*. The *Sūtra* was further reduced to the *Prajñāpāramitā Dhāraṇī*. From the *Dhāraṇī* we had a *Prajñāpāramitā Mantra*. But even this small *Mantra* was submitted by the conception of a *Bīja* in one syllable '*Prain*' in response to which the *Śūnya* transformed itself in the shape of the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā*. "The origin of the Tantric Mantra thus" says Bhattacharyya, "can be traced through the successive stages of Buddhist literature."[1]

---

[1] Scholars are not unanimous as to the number of Subdivisions of the Tantras. Indian scholars know only of four subdivisions, viz. (1) Kriyātantra, (2) Caryātantra, (3) Yogatantra, (4) Anuttarayogatantra. But Kazi Dawsam Dup gives us a sixfold classification of Vajrayāna. To the list above set forth, he adds two more; (i) *Mahāyogatantrayāna* and (ii) *Atiyogatantrayāna*. Those who were not acquainted with the *Vajrayāna* doctrine were required to observe strict rules of discipline and celibacy. In the *Yogatantra* they were given more latitude in their conduct and were allowed to mix with the Śaktis; while immunity from all restrictions, moral and others, was granted to those who were promoted to the Anuttara, the highest of all the Yānas. Those who were lucky and capable of reaching this lofty level were called *Siddhas* persons who had obtained miraculous powers.

To the Vajrayānists these Mantras were like Kāmadhenu, repetition of which, according to certain rules, would give them earthly and unearthly powers. In fact, it was maintained by some that there was nothing impossible for the *Mantras* to perform.[2]

Dhāraṇis Mantras, and so forth, all essential elements of Tantrism, had brought in their trail, the worship of numerous gods and goddesses. Tantrism, or Vajrayāna, in fact, had a regular pantheon of its own. But we do not refer to it here as that would take us beyond our scope. However, a reference is made to some of the gods and goddesses in the chapter on "Ritualism of Nālandā Buddhism."

Likewise, the division of the whole *Tantra* literature into Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic with a few specimens of each, and other less important features of the *Tantras*, are given in the appendix, as they are not directly connected with our subject.

The task of assigning values to things is the most difficult task that one has to perform while dealing with them in their different aspects. And it is made all the more difficult when this phase of Buddhism, namely Tantrism, has been condemned in the most scathing language and run down with such phrases as "meaningless", charlatanism" and

---

1. Adapted with necessary changes from Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, II, Intro. pp. LXVI-VIII.
2. *Kimstyasādhyaṁ Mantrāṇāṁ Yojitānāṁ yathā vidhi*, referred to by Bhattacharyya, *Ibid.*, p. LXIX ; also *Tattvasaṅgraha* o.c., p. 575.

"degeracy by critics, Eastern and Western. It is, therefore, difficult to keep one's mind unaffected by such contemptuous expressions and have a proper and just appreciation of Tantric culture.

Moreover, we are concerned with the educative value of Tantrism, and, therefore we must see for ourselves if the students of Nālandā were given the worst education that was possible, as a conclusion that will obviously be if we are to trust the criticism hither to made of Tantrism. We have to approach it, therefore, with great caution.

Avalon has struck the right note, indeed, when he says, "if they (doctrines and practices) are meaningless to them (western authors). it is because they do not know the meaning...Nevertheless the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just, and if any doctrine or practice is not understood, it is better and safer to admit that ignorance than to allege meaninglessness and absurdity."[1]

With these words of caution, then, we shall embark upon the evaluation of Tantric culture and see how far the charges levelled against Tantrism are true.

In any inquiry of this kind there are certain rules by which we are to be guided.

The first and the most important is that we must not judge things from our stand point, from our modern way of looking at things but from the point of view of the age to which the thing in question belongs. Secondly, we must clearly distinguish between the aims and the means employed to achieve them, and not confuse the latter with the former, because it is only in this way that we shall be able to apportion impartially credit and blame.

---

[1] *Tantric Texts*, Vol. VII, Foreword, pp. IV-V.

We may also note Tucci's remarks. He says, "Tantras are one of the highest expressions of Indian mysticism which may appear to us rather strange in its outward form, chiefly because we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they were written", *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., XXVI, 1930, p. 128.

The aims of the Tantrics, as we have already seen, varied from the highest and noblest conceptions of the human mind to the most debased ones.

There was the desire to be one with the infinite, or as the Vajrayānist would say to unite with the Universal *Śūnya*, to be omniscent, or according to the avowed declaration of Avalokiteśvara and his followers, the Bodhisattvas, to free humanity from its continual pangs, to break its chain of birth and death and offer eternal peace. To the man standing on a lower sphere of mental development, knowledge of the *Śāstras*, obtained without much trouble, appeared as a goal, while the Tantric student of a still inferior calibre, longed to get miraculous powers, to ward off disease and sickness, to gain earthly comforts,-perhaps the most common and yet the most trival, the company of young and beautiful *apsaras*.

There were thus, as Avalon[1] has said, two kinds of aims, namely, esteric and exteric, which had correspondingly two sorts of *sādhakas* (devotees) the spiritual few and the masses.

There is not a single object, perhaps, with the exception of the last, regarding which a word of contempt can be used, because even the longing to possess miraculous powers is in itself not bad. And for a Tantric it was not ordinarily possible to gain miraculous powers. Intense meditation and supreme control over the sense organs coupled with other practices enabled him to attain these powers. And it will be conceded that to get control over our senses, and concentrate with undivided attention is not very easy. Moreover, to repeat things a hundred and thousand times accurately, and without any mistake means a tremendous patience to the devotee.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. IV-VII. We shall give below in detail the true explanation of aims and means given by him.

When we take all these facts into consideration we think scholars in the past have been too strict and biased as regards their criticism of Tantric culture. If they had outlooked impartially to the aims which the Tantrics cherished, and the hardships they underwent to attain them, they would have done some justice to this unknown subject of an unknown period of the history of Indian thought.

May be they justified in criticising the culture wholesale because of the grossness of some of the practices preached by the doctrine.

In this case too we think that a proper and unbiased examination of some of the means employed would vindicate Tantric of some of the serious charges levelled against it.

As has been pointed out by Avalon, Vajrayāna often speaks of the Union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* which is nothing but Karuṇā. The former is represented as a female in close embrace with *Upāya* as male. Now this is only symbolism as we shall show by citing a Tantra Ms. But the want of correct knowledge on the part of some of the critics, suggested that Tantrism taught nothing but sex worship. And they were right, to some extent in their interpretation, because this very symbolism, in the later days of Tantrism, in the hands of baser and degraded minds, connoted only its apparent meaning, resulting in most serious consequences, that they not only preached, but practised what they preached. Now before passing on to the discussion of other means, we shall just try to explain the true meaning of this symbolism.'

Prajñopāya means 'with knowledge', i.e., the Means produced by knowledge. What does '*Upāya*' or 'Means' signify ? It signifies universal compassion, as the asset of

Vajrasattva with a strong and stable form. *Upāya* signifies this form. *Upāya* is Vajrasattva, who is identified with the five elements and the five Tathāgatas and who is endowed with the attributes of expansion and contraction. It is embraced by knowledge (Prajñā)—the thunderbolt entering the lotus. A devotee should think of knowledge as non-dual. This is prajñopāya. What is the relation between the two ? The five senses with the five presiding deities, pertain to the nature of the five elements and they, are all reduced to the form of Void ; the *Upāya* is also Vajrasattva : he stands for all entities strong and stable, he is also reduced to the form of Void. The two letters *OM* and *Hum* represent non-quality. Varjasattva is never two, but he has assumed duality simply to illustrate the Union of Prajñopaya. If he were really two, then void would be joined to void (which is absurd).[1] Avalon's interpretation is also worth nothing. He says, "Śūnyatā is associated with Karuṇā. The latter is the Power, Means (*Upāya*) or Method by which anything is done as compared with the Wisdom (Prajñā), which guides and utilises it. Prajñā utilises Upāya in order that Nirvāṇa may be attained. The Mahāyāna Buddhist does not seek liberation for himself alone. His purpose is to see that all beings may share that lot : a truly noble doctrine. For the purpose of worship, Wisdom is regarded as female, and Power or Method as male. They are pictured as being in sexual union, the male standing and the Female clinging to him with either one or both lower limbs circling his back. This donotes that Wisdom and Method are ever in union."[2]

It ought to be evident that what superficially suggests immoral practices, in truth, contains the most abstruse philosophy. And what we may be inclined to dismiss as meaningless ritualism, was of great significance to the true Tantric.

---

[1] *Tantric Texts*, Foreword, p. XIV.

[2] *Sādhamanamālā*, II, Intro., p. XXXVI.

To a lesser degree it is true of all the practices preached by *Guhyasamāj*. To the devotee who has gained perfect control over his senses, who has risen above such distinctions as "This is mine", "This is yours", to whom mother, sister or wife or any woman appear all equal, Tāntrism allowed to do whatever he liked. Therefore, what appears as the most outrageous practise, as nothing but the grossest of immorality—the Tāntrics considered as quite innocent.

For we must acknowledge that the rank and file of the Tāntrics, for the masses this would be beyond their comprehension. And these means which are perhaps representations of very high thoughts which sometimes symbolic, brought about the degradation of the system. The ignorant masses took the things at their face-value and thus the most unspeakable immorality were committed by the Tāntric.

Undoubtedly, Vajrayāna, in its later and popular phases, degenerated into something undesirable but that is no reason why it should be condemned outright. As Dr. Bhattacharyya has rightly observed, "Vajrayāna took into account all the good things, tenets, philosophical notions and theories, and incorporated all that was best in Buddhism and probably in Hinduism also, and it was owing to this that attained great popularity. It satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and the habitual sinners, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees."[1]

We shall close our valuation of Tāntrism with what Avalon thinks of the aims and means of the Tāntrics and his opinion of the system as a whole. He is writing in the same tone as we have suggested, "It is a common place however, which is nevertheless to be remembered", says he, "that in all religions there is a mass religion suitable to the less developed minds of the majority of the community and the religion of the highly educated, the spiritually developed, and sages......There is thus a high philosophic Tāntrism and that of the crowd, with its cruder beliefs. Whilst the adherents of the former are blamed for 'their sublime vacuity and indifference to earthly claims', the majority are called to book for making religion a means to secure material gain-as if man all the world over did not seek and pray for earthly benefit......In the philosophic presentment and its accompanying ritual, the idea of the Void (Śhūnyatā) dominates. After the *Chelā* has gained a clear vision of the Devatās occupying the different parts of the Maṇḍala of worship, he arrives at a point in which the Devatās gradually melt the one into the other, and are all absorbed in the principal Devatā, which occupied the centre of the Maṇḍala, and this in its turn gradually effaces itself and is absorbed in the Bindu between the eye-brows (Ājñā-Charkra) where is the Point of Light which itself disappears to be in the Void...Thus the Sādhaka is made to *practically* realise that he is one with all that is, and that all is at base Sūnyatā.

---

[1] *Sādhanamālā*, II, Intro., p. XXXVI.

It is not enough theoretically to affirm that identity. Proof must be given of it ; and the only real proof anywhere is direct (*Pratyakṣa*) experience. So to take another instance; the mass of Buddhistic believers may think that Union with the Dākinīs consists in gaining the favour of female-spirits. Esoterically, however, the adept projects his creative will into the Matrix of the Mother Energies which are the Mātris and Dākinīs, and their engenders active forms and powers which are indeed as such, since all that is without is within. And so also the Buddha's project the Bodhisattvas who create in their turn. But besides all this mysticism, which, whether rightly founded or not, is a system, philosophically profound, there are to be found amongst Buddhist and Indian Tāntric as inferior practitioners given over to an evil magic which is yet by no means always 'charlatanism', as most orientalists aver, and to abuses in connection with what in India is known as the Chakra ritual.

The ignorant lay-folk. in these and other countries, envisage spiritual truths, so grossly that they are degraded to superstitions. All evil and ignorance is so much by its nature on the surface, and efforts so apt a subject for adverse judgment that it is readily seized upon, and the more so that it is convenient material for religious polemic. Nevertheless I repeat that we must do credit both to our intelligence and sense of justice by endeavouring to understand any religion in its highest and truest aspect. The Tantras, whether Buddhist or Indian, contain both a profound doctrine and a wonderfully conceived praxis."[1]

Tantric culture, therefore, though it will not compare favourably with and much less surpass the Upaniṣadic, because the latter taught nothing but the realization of the Immortal Soul by means which were as ideal, noble and elevating as the goal itself, still when compared with other cultures, it will not go down in the scale, as the goal it set before its followers was not intrinsically inferior to any other culture. It had in mind no other object than to gain spiritual power by supreme concentration and meditation—in short by the various practises of *Yoga*, and the Tāntric practices in a sense began where those of the *Yoga* ended.

During the last 30 years, a few more scholars—Indian and foreign (European and Japanese) have not only studied the various offshoots of Mahāyāna—such as Tantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna in India, but studies have been made as they are currently practised in Tibet and Japan—the two countries where Buddhism in its developed form is still a living religion. We are, therefore, able to have both a historical perspective as well as a broader and deeper insight into Tantricism. These are very briefly pointed out here, so that those interested in these developments can look up the various authorities referred to here.

---

[1] *Tantric Texts*, Foreword, pp. V-VII.

With regard to the origin of Tantricism, it is now admitted that roots go back to the earliest period, for a text like *Dīgha Nikāya* contains *rakkhā* mantras. Tantras, therefore, appeared with *Mahāyāna-Sūtras*. These developed into Tantricism when Asaṅga introduced esoteric practices. These *mantras* came to be called *Dhāraṇīs* which began to be popular by about the 4th cenrury A.D. as can be seen in the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*. The Dhāraṇī litreature grew tremendously between the 4th and 8th centuries A.D. and had a wide following even outside India, in Gilgit, Turkistan and Central Asia. The earliest Dhāraṇīs advocated the worship of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the later of Tārā also.

The two early Tāntric textes deal with these developments are *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Guhyasamāja*, but each deals with different topics, while the latter deals with yoga and *anuttarayoga* and incidentally with *maṇḍalas*, and *mantras*, *Kriyās* (rites), *Caryās* (duties and of a priest) The text further prescribes the observance of moral precepts ; *niyama*, *japa*, and *dhyāna*—all pre-requisites for success in the Mantra Cult.

It also deals with *Paṭavidhāna*, i.e. directions for drawning pictures of different Buddhas, Tārā, as well as Krodharājās, Yamāntakā and others. It should be noted that this text contains mantras for both Hindu and Buddhist deities, and mentions Śrīparvata as the most suitable for such practices. In the *Mañjuśrīmulakalpa* there is very little of the secret Yogic practices which are prescribed in the *Guhyasamāja*. This text is devoted to Yoga and *Anuttarayoga*, and its chief aim is to explain the *Tathāgata-guhya*, that is the unknownable reality, that source of all Tathāgatas, as also of the phenomenal world, and how to realise it. This early Vajrayāna text indicates the new ways and means for realising the reality, the Guhya, the Vajra, with the help of *mantras and maṇḍlas*, rites and ceremonies. The *Tathāgataguhya* is so deep and subtle that it can be described as the secret of all secrets; it is the unchangeable eternal reality, the Vajra, the Śunyatā of Nāgārjuna and the Vajñaptimātratā of Vasubandhu.

The *Guhyasamāja* gives repeatedly the exposition of the Truth which is the Vajra, on oneness of the Universe, in which there is no distinction between a man and a woman, between a wife and a sister or a mother, between the excreta and meat of any animal, even of a human being. The truth or the Vajra is immoment in the phenomenal world of *rūpa* (form), *rasa* (taste), *gandha* (smell), *sparśa* (touch), etc. hence the adepts are asked to realise the fact that the *Vajra* is as much identical with the phenomenal world as with the Truth.

Vajrācāryas belong to two schools of thought (1) The Mādhyamika and (2) the Yogācāra. The conception of Vajra as given in the *Guhyasamāja* is that of *Śūnyatā* or extreme *advayavāda* of Nāgārjuna, while that in the *Dohās* and *Caryāpādas* of Lui-pā and others is the idealism or Vijñaptimātratā or Cittamātra of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. (*HCIP.*, Vol. IV, pp. 256-66).

This, in brief, is the essence of Tantrayāna or Tāntricism, which later developed into Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna.

Vajrayāna in one sense is a sexo-yogic practice; in another that it regards everything as Vajra (Void) and that way its outstanding feature is the identification of the ultimate reality with the conception of a Lord Supreme (*Bhagvān*) as Vajrasattva, sometimes also called Vajradhārā. This Vajrasattva is not merely of the nature of the *Śunyatā*, but is as well the non-dual state of *Śunyatā* and *Karuṇā.* He is thus the Being of infinite wisdom and universal compassion. Thus arose the whole conception of Ādi-Buddha, and his incarnations—Dhyānī Buddhas, each having a Śakti or consort of his own. (For details of worship see *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 411-12.)

Kālacakra-yāna was an offshoot of Vajrayāna, and arose in or about the 10th century A.D. The Supreme deity is here called the Lord Śrī-Kālacakra. Kāla means the ultimate immutable knowledge (Prajñā) or the State of *Śunyatā*, while the *Cakra* means the cycle of the world-process, or the body of the Lord containing the potency of the existence of the Universe, which is just the principle of Upāya. Kālacakra, therefore, implies the obsolutely unified principle of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*, and he is thus the Bodhicitta.

This system also introduced a number of gods and their female energies, having awful and terrible aspects, all of whom as well as the Buddhas had to be worshipped as in Vajrayāna. On the philosophic side the system also laid stress on Time (*Kāla*). and declared that one who could control vital winds in the nerve, by Yogic practices, thereby keeps oneself above all influence of the whirl of Time, which is the root cause of all miseries including decay and destruction.

With these two *Yānas*, the evolution of Buddhism in India was complete. A vast literature, composed in numerous monasteries of Bengal, Bihar, Nepal, Kashmir, Tibet grew up. Here also were numerous artists guilds which produced most beautiful images of these gods and goddesses, in all conceivable poses in stone, stucco, bronze and paint. On the practical side Buddhism was hardly distinguishable from the contemporary schools of Hinduism.

As a revolt against these forms of Buddhism, was born Sahajayāna, which laid emphasis on the natural way of realizing the ultimate reality and thus discarded their high philosophy as well as the elaborate ritualism. The fundamental tenets of the Sahajiyas are known from Caryāpādas (devotional songs and *Dohās* composed by them). The

Sahajiyas regard the general Tāntric texts as its authority, but like the Hindu sexo-yogic practitioners laid emphasis on the control or development of the supine *Kuṇḍalini Śakti* within one's body.

On the practical side, for the masses as well as immature and unscrupulous gurus and Śiṣyas all these Yānas were a passport to a debaucherous way of life. For them it was difficult or impossible to interpret in any other way, the figures symbolizing Divine Bliss but shown in close sexual embrace.

However, even foreign scholars like Grasenup Sahajayāna is explained as the simultaneous appearance or realization of the ultimate in mind or the *dharmakāya* and the ultimate in Appearance or the light of the *dharmakāyas* which are born together. This realization can be achieved by a course of meditation which is based on direct experience and takes cognizance of the fact that intellectual operations are inseparable from their emotional commitments.

While, therefore, the earlier systems of Buddhist philosophers, dialecticians and logicians, are more or less of academic interest only, Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are a living form today, particularly in Tibet, China and Japan. (*2500 years of Buddhism* pp. 377-78).

Particularly so in India, where after the disappearance of the Buddhist tradition in India this literature fell into oblivion, or degenerated into the crude erotic cults of popular Tāntrism.

From this pitiable state, it is being rescued now. Independent and impartial studies of the ancient literature by foreign scholars, as well as the observance of their practice in countries like Tibet, China and Japan have convinced scholars of the fundamental soundness, nay uniqueness of these later developments in Buddhism. These are very briefly cited here, for these will help in the evaluation of the Nālandā education. With regard to the Shingon and the Tendai schools of Buddhism, still current in Japan, Glasenapp said, "the female Bodhisattvas figuring in the maṇḍalas, like Prajñāpāramitā and Cuṇḍi, are sexless beings from whom quite in accordance with the ancient tradition, associations of a sexual nature are strictly excluded. In this respect these schools differ from those known to us from Bengal, Nepal and Tibet, which emphasize the polarity of the male and female principles." (Glasenapp, 1930, p. 160). And it is pointed out that those Buddhist tantras which built their symbolism upon the polarity of the male and the female principle as *Śakti*, but always as its contrary—prajñā (wisdom), *Vidyā* (knowledge) or *mudrā* (the spiritual attitude of unification, the realization of *Śunyatā.*) Herewith they reject the basic idea of Śaktism and its world-creating eroticism."

"In Tibet the male and female Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are regarded as little as "sexual beings" as in Japan ; and to the Tibetan even their aspect of union (*Skt. Yugnaddha* ; *Tib yabyum*) is indissolubly associated with the highest spiritual reality in the process of enlightenment, so that associations with the realm of physical sexuality are completely ignored." This has been admirably explained by Evans-Wintz (*Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*. p. 200).

The vital force of the Five Aggregates (Tib. *phungo-po* ; *Skt. Skandha*) in its real nature, pertaineth to the masculine aspect of the Buddha-principle manifesting through the left psychic nerve (Skt. *iḍā-nāḍi*). The vital force of the Five Elements (Skt. dhātu) in its real nature, pertaineth to the feminine aspect of the Buddha principle manifesting through the right physic nerve (Skt. *piṅgalānādi*). As the vital force with these two aspects of it in union, descendeth into the median nerve (Skt. *Suṣumnā*) gradually there cometh the realization," and one attains the transcendental boon of the Great Symbol (*mahāmudrā*), the union of the male and female principles (as *upāya* and prajñā) in the highest state of Buddhahood.

Thus, only we are able to see the relationship of body and mind, of physical and spiritual interaction in a universal perspective, and if in this way we overcome the "I" and "mine" and the whole structure of egocentric feeling, opinions, and prejudices which produce the illussion of our separate individuality, then only can we rise into the sphere of Buddhahood.

In this sense, the Buddhist Tantras are not only the legitimate heirs of the Vijñānavādin and Yogācārins, but the logical outcome and ultimate consequence of the central idea of Buddhism which consists in the Law of Dependent Origination (*Pratiṭya-samutpāda*). This law tells us that the world is neither governed by a God Creator nor by blind chance, but by the law of spiritual and metaphysical interrelatedness which is neither simple casuality nor metaphysical determinism. (*2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 372)

The University of Nālandā, then, can hardly be blamed for teaching Tāntrism. For there was nothing fundamentally wrong in the subject itself. And whatever harm was done by Tāntrism to Indian culture, was due to the misguided intellect of some of the followers of Tāntrism.

From the foregoing pages it is evident that almost all the branches of knowledge then known were taught at Nālandā. But of all these, Theology or better religio-philosophical knowledge was the most popular. And the University, besides preaching it far and wide, had even contributed considerably towards its advancement. This advancement was no other than the one we have just discussed, namely, Tāntrism. And not only did Tāntrism further this knowledge, but also opened up a new field hitherto unknown to its students, namely, Art and Iconography. For the finds at Nālandā have brought to light innumerable images which we know were created according to the description given in the *Mantras* or *Sādhanas*. This aspect of Nālandā-education thus gave rise to a new school of art called the Pala or the Nālandā-Art. This however requires a separate chapter.

The value of Nālandā-education is discussed in the Chapter on "Student-life", as it logically comes after the topic "Aims and Prospects of Students", which is dealt with in that Chapter.

Chapter V

Famous Pandits of Nālandā

All institutions, it is said, are extended shadows of great men. The lives of these men, therefore, are no less important than the institutions, of which they are the makers. Nālandā, for instance, was likewise the extended shadow of its pandits Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Sāntarakṣita. The personal history of these and other famous pandits of the University, then, forms the topic of this chapter.

Before dealing with this aspect of their life we would just like to add a note on the word "Paṇḍita" which we will use, frequently, hereafter. It was used in a two-fold sense at Nālandā. Ordinarily, it meant a professor. But there was another meaning and that was of greater importance. At the University of Vikramaśilā (800 A.D.) 'Pandita' was a degree that was conferred on its successful candidates, while at Nālandā, it appears that it was a distinctive title bestowed on the head of the University[1].

We have said previously that even though Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva were connected with Nālandā, as the statements of Hiuen Tsiang would appear to show, still they cannot be said to have any real connexions with the University. For the University itself was of later origin. This is also true of Rāhulabhadra, "who held office as a teacher in Śrī Nālandā when King Sri Candra erected 14 fragrant halls and 14 incomparable religious schools"[1] Likewise, even Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu will have to be excluded from the list of pandits who actually lived and worked in the University if we agree with Kimura[2] that they lived in 390-400 A.D., that is, some 50 years before the rise of the University. But against this we have very strong evidence to prove that they lived not only when the University was actually founded but some 60 years after. It has been shown almost conclusively by Takakusu that Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu lived in the latter part of the fifth century A.D.[3] The only other difficulty in including them among the pandits of Nālandā is that they might not have proceeded to Nālandā but accomplished all their work either at Peshawar (Puruśa-pura) or Ayodhyā, as the University had just come into existence. The difficulty, however, will be to a great extent solved if we presume that Vasubandhu who took such a prominent part in converting Bālāditya (Narasiṁha gupta) to Buddhism also took a very great interest in the institutions at Nālandā.

---

[1] See Vidyabhusan, o.c., p. 79; *H.I.L.*, p. 271-2. Taranath also seems to use the word in this latter sense when he says, Dharmapāla became Pandita in Śrī Nālandā after the excellent Candrakīrti," o.c., p. 161.

Most probably as a sign of his conversion to Buddhism, Bālāditya may have erected the great saṅghārāma at Nālandā which bore his name, even when Hiuen Tsiang visited the place.[4] It is also not unlikely that Vasubhandu was greatly instrumental in persuading the king to show his love for Buddhism in a tangible shape in the form of the Nālandā buildings. To all these proofs we may add one more, viz. Tārānath, who in this case, unlike the case of Nāgārjuna, is

---

1. Vidyabhusana, o.c. p. 146.
2. Kimura, o.c., p. 175.
3. Takakusu, Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905. p. 35. See also note 5, p. 19 above.
4. Hiuen Tasiang, o.c., II, p. 173 ; Hwui Li, o.c., p. 109.

supported by other historical evidence. Says he of Āsaṅga, "He lived in the period of his later life for 12 years in Nālandā".[1] The words "later life" are important, because the greater portion of his life was spent at Peshawar and Ayodhyā,[2] while the last years of his own life he must have spent at Nālandā.

So, there is no objection to our describing Asaṅga and Vasubandhu as the pandits of Nālandā, a university that was very fortunate in securing the services of such eminent personalities at its very inception.

The University found another great pandit in the person of Diṅnāga. Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu made the University famous by placing their services at its disposal. Diṅnāga restored its fame when it was on the point of being humiliated by the Brāhmaṇa Sudūrjaya. The former found it hard to discuss with the Brāhmaṇa, who was well-versed in dialectics. So they sent for Diṅnāga. Diṅnaga, though a native of Siṁha Vaktra, a suburb of Kāñchī, in the South, at the time when he was sent for by the pandits of Nālaṇdā was living in a cave on Bhoraśaila in Odivisa. And the story goes that he thrice defeated the *Tīrthyas* in the debate. After the controversy was over, he began preaching the *Abhidhamma*; he also composed many dialectical *Śāstras* and is said to have composed in all 100 *Śāstras*.[3] To his important works and his contribution to Logic we have referred previously.

Ever since the Chinese and the Japanese came to know of him and his works they have looked upon him with great admiration. "And even upto the present day Diṅnāga has a firm hold on the learned people of China and Japan, in spite of the fact that there had been many distinguished Naiyāyikas in

---

1. Taranath, *o.c.*, p. 118.
2. Takakusu, *o.c.*, pp. 35-44.
3. Taranath, *o.c.*, p. 132.4.

both China and Japan. And as the European system of Logic has been only recently introduced, Diṅnāga is still studied."[1] There is a difference of opinion as to when he lived. Keith says, "He lived probably before 400 A.D.".[2] While the Japanese would place him between 400-500 A.D.[3] The latter date appears to be the more correct because we have assigned the fifth century to Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, who came after him, must necessarily be assigned 500 or even 520 to 600 A.D.

Perhaps, next to Diṅnaga when King Śīla was ruling, Jayadeva had the distinction to occupy the 'Pandita' chair. Except of Tārānātha,[4] nobody refers to this Jayadeva, not even Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing, who gave a host of names of the famous pandits of Nālandā.

Candrakīrti succeeded Jayadeva. Of him Tārānātha says that he was a Master of Masters. As the 'Pandita' of Nālandā Candrakīrti composed commentaries upon *Mādhyamikamūla*, *Mādhyamikavicāra* and upon First Principles.[5]

Before we come to Dharmapāla, who had retired just before Hiuen Tsiang visited Nālandā, the interregnum that is marked in Tārānātha's history was perhaps filled up by Gunamati and Sthiramati, "the streams of whose superior teaching" had spread abroad. and Prabhāmitra and Jinamitra who had been famous for their eloquent discourses, and others.[6]

Of this group of distinguished pandits of the Nālandā University, we would like to speak in detail of Sthiramati, because Hiuen Tsiang in another place speaks of him as the founder of a monastery at Valabhi. Let us again repeat what

---

1. Sastri, "History of Nyāyaśāstra from Japanese Sources" *J.A.S.B.*, (1905), p. 177.
2. Keith, o.c., p. 484.
3. Sastri, o.c., p. 178.
4. Tarānath, *o.c.*, p. 146.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
6. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 171.

Hiuen Tsiang tells about him. He says, "The streams of whose superior knowledge spread abroad even now". Since, in the *Catalogue du fond Tibetain*, a large number of books are ascribed to him, we may construe the word "abroad" as referring to Tibet. If this can be conclusively proved then we may say that Sthiramati contributed more to the spread Buddhism in Tibet than his successors Śāntarakṣita and Padmasaṁbhava. Bose says,[1] "Sthiramati was known to the Tibetans as a great interpreter. He knew Tibetan well and translated many Sanskrit books into Tibetan. He was also famous as a grammarian and translated many books on grammar into the language."

Sthiramati, since he is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, must have flourished some years, perhaps a century, before the Chinese traveller. We can, however, fix the date of Sthiramati with some certainty, if he is the same Sthiramati who along with Gunamati built a monastery at Valabhī.[2] Very probably they are identical, since Hiuen Tsiang speaks of Sthiramati as well as Gunamati.

The date of the founder of the monastery is easily established. For he is referred to by the *Valabhi Grant* of Dharasena[3] as Ācāryya Bhadanta Sthiramati, who built the Vihara Bappapāda at Valabhī. The grant is made in *Saṁvat* 269 which, we think, is the *Gupta Saṁvat*. The reasons for assuming this *Saṁvat* are mainly two.

1. If we take the *Saka Samvat* then we arrive at the year 347 A.D. which is absurd if our Sthiramati is the famous Sthiramati, who was the disieple of Vasubandhu[4] and who composed several treatises. And Vasubandhu, we know, lived in the

---

[1] *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 133.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang o.c., II, p. 268.

[3] *Ind. Ant*, VI, p. 12, plate II, ii, 3 and 4.

[4] Wassilief, *Buddhisms*, p. 84 referred to by Buhler, *Ibid*. p. 10.

latter half of the 5th century A.D.[1] Conseguently he could not have lived earlier than that date. Probably he flourished in the latter half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century A.D. The adoption of the Gupta era exactly fits in with the date arrived at. For the grant is made in *Saṁvat* 269 and if we add 319 years required for reducing *Gupta Saṁvat* to the Christian, we get 588 A.D. Now the grant says, "To the Vihāra built by Sthirmati." So it follows that the monastery was constructed some years earlier say, a hundred years. Thus, we come to the year 488 A.D., precisely the time when Vasubandhu flourished.

The second reason why we assume the *Gupta Saṁvat* is that Dharasena calls himself the "great feudal chief".[2] He was probably the vassal of the Guptas and therefore, adopted Gupta era. Sthiramati, then, flourished between 460a nd 550 A.D.[3]

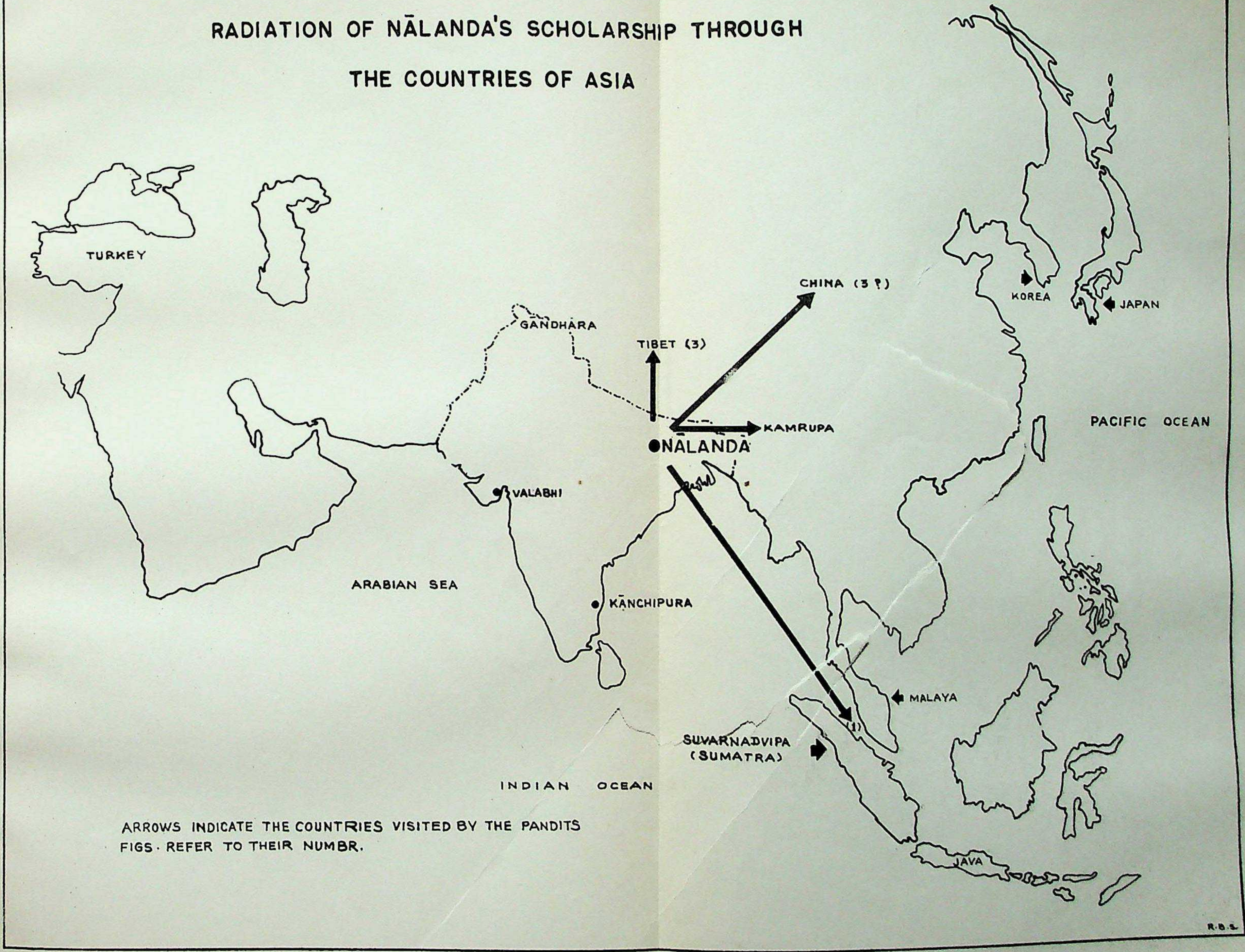
We may here note that if it can be proved independently of Vasubanhu that the grant refers to the Gupta era, then we get one more proof besides the one in *Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu*, that Vasubandhu lived in the latter half of the 5th century A.D.

From a glance at the headings of the works written, translated and corrected by Sthiramati, it appears that he was the first writer, after Āsaṅga, the author of *Yogācāra*

---

1. Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 35.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 12, plate II, line 1.
3. It has been definitely ascertained now that there were two Sthiramatis, the one of whom Watter speaks and the other ours, the disciple of Vasubandhu. See Kimura, *o.c.*, p. 183. Watters, however, says that Sthiramati was the author of an "*Introduction to Mahāyānism*", which was translated into Chinese about 400 A.D. That means Sthiramati flourished much earlier, in about 300 A.D. But this seems impossible because Nālandā was not so famous then. While Sthiramati is known to succeed *Vasubandhu who definitely* lived in 480 A.D. Watter's *Yuan* Chang, II, p. 169.

RADIATION OF NĀLANDA'S SCHOLARSHIP THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA


TURKEY
GANDHARA
TIBET (3)
CHINA (3 ?)
KOREA
JAPAN
KAMRUPA
NĀLANDĀ
VALABHI
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARABIAN SEA
KĀNCHIPURA
MALAYA
(1)
SUVARNADVIPA
(SUMATRA)
INDIAN OCEAN
JAVA
R.B.S.

ARROWS INDICATE THE COUNTRIES VISITED BY THE PANDITS
FIGS. REFER TO THEIR NUMBR.

doctrine to write on the *Tantra*, though, according to Bose, he only undertook the revision and correction of the Tibetan works.

The works are: 1. *Ṣaḍāṅga Yoga*, 2. *Lakṣaṇuabhidhānodhṛta laghu tantra piṇḍārtha vivaraṇa nāma*. 3. *Śrī Buddhakapāla-mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭikā-abhayapadhatināma*.

If, however, the works were not really composed by Sthiramati but only revised by him, then the introduction of the *Tantra* must be attributed to Āsaṅga himself, who was primarily responsible for the introduction of *Yoga* in theistic Buddhism.

Guṇamati was a native of Valabhī, but became one of the distinguished pandits of Nālandā. He wrote a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* and refuted the dualistic teachings of Madhva, as also the Mādhyamika views of Bhavya (=Bhāvaviveka). Paramārtha, who belonged to Ujjain, was one of his disciples, and translated into Chinese Guṇamatī's *Lakṣaṇānusāraśāstra* (*HCIP*. III. p. 390).

Of the several works composed by Sthiramati his disquisitions on *Madhyāntavibhāga* and Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā* have been discovered in original Sanskrit (*JRAS*., 1947, pp. 53 ff. and *HCIP*., III, p. 90). Recently Kimura published the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*, a comparative study of Sankrit texts and four Chinese translations (*2500 Years of Buddhism p. 439*).

We tread on surer and firmer ground when we come to the time when Dharmapāla was the abbot of the University. Dharmapāla, though born in Kāñcīpura, far away in the south, and though a son of a high official of the city, embraced the life of a Buddhist *Bhikṣu*, at a very early age[1] and became one of the greatest luminaries of Nālandā. His help to Buddhism is of inestimable value. For, even when he was in his teens, he accepted the challenge of a heretical pandit thrown to an assembly of Buddhist pandits who were dumbfounded and tore his arguments to pieces. By doing so, he converted to Buddhism not only the pandit but even the king who was partial to the heretic.[1] Thus "he acquired renown for penetration and wisdom and the reputation of his noble character was far-spread." On another occasion he held discussions, for seven long days, with 100 Hīnayāna *śāstra* masters and utterly defeated them.[2]

---

[1] Watters, o.c., II, p. 226.

He slowly made his way to Nālandā—the foremost place of learning in Central India—and when Śīlabhadra came to Nālandā,[3] we find him occupying the highest office he could then wish for, namely, the headship of the University.[4] He was a contemporary of the great Bhartṛihari and wrote the *śloka* portion of the *Bhedavṛtti* in collaboration with him.[5] He wrote treatises on Etymology, Logic and the Metaphysics of Buddhism,[6] and the following four books in Sanskrit:[7]

1. *Ālambana-pratyaya-dhyāna śāstra-vyākhyā*
2. *Vidyāmātra-siddhi-śāstra-vyākhyā.*
3. *Śata-śāstra-vaipulya-vyākhyā.*
4. *Valitattva-saṁgraha.*

The time when Dharmapāla was the head of the University may be fixed at the early years of the seventh century, because when Hiuen Tsiang visited Nālandā in 635 A.D. Śīlabhadra was the head of the University, which implies that Dharmapāla was then dead or had retired by that time. And Dharmapāla could not have come to Nālandā earlier than the 7th century. For assuming that he left his native place Kāñcīpura at the age of 20, as he was then of marriageable age,[1] we must assign some twenty to thirty years more, to the interval, during which he became the 'Paṇḍita' of Nālandā, when he was trained for the Bhikkhuship, mastered the Buddhist and other heretical *śāstras*, so much so, that he could win over the pandits and kings of other faiths and then go to Nālandā as a distinguished Buddhist.

---

[1] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, I, pp. 238-39
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 238-40.
[3] Watters, o. c., I, p. 374.
[4] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 110-11.
[5] I-Tsing, o.c., Intro., p. LVII.
[6] Bunyiu Nanjio, Appendix I. No. 16.
[7] Bose, *o.c.*, pp. 115-116.

Moreover, we cannot say that the Nālandā-throne was lying vacant when Dharmapāla arrived at Nālandā and it must have taken some years before he could aspire to it and acquire it. In fact Tārānātha tells us that Dharmapāla became the 'Paṇḍita' in Nālandā after the excellent Chandrakīrti.[2] His tenure of office, according to Tārānatha, was very short. For he says, "After Dharmapāla had been Paṇḍita in Nālandā a short while, Jayadeva became Paṇḍita after him."[3] It must be noted, however, that Tārānatha's version goes against the generally accepted view, viz. that Śīlabhadra succeeded Dharmapāla.[4]

His existing works do not do full justice to the part that Dharmapāla played to keep the University going, efforts that he made in order to spread the fair name of Nālandā far and wide, and the hardships and the fire he underwent in order to hold aloft the banner of Mahāyāna Buddhism against repeated attacks of the Hīnayānists, Sāṁkhyas and Vaiśeṣikas and other followers of less important philosophies.

Śīlabhadra, who succeeded Dharmapāla to the post of the Paṇḍita of the University, was not less famous a figure among the Nālandā pandits. The accounts that we have of him are vivid and most reliable because they are recorded by Hiuen

---

[1] Watters, *o.c.*, II, p. 228.

[2] Tārānātha, *o.c.*, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[4] See I-Tsing, *o. c.*, Intro., p. LVII.

Tsiang from his own personal knowledge and not from hearsay.

Son of a king in East India, as Watters explains Samatata, and a Brāhmaṇa by caste, this Śīlabhadra renounced both the regal honour and comfort, as well as his caste.[1] For, in his heart burned the fire which made him averse to all things but the quest of truth and pursuit of newer realms of knowledge. With such ideas, he embarked upon a tour of India. Fortunately, he had not to go very far, as Nālandā was comparatively much nearer from Samatata. Here, at Nālandā, he was initiated into the principles of Buddhism by Dharmapāla. At the very inception, he held out a promise of being a worthy disciple of his teacher. For the questions that he put to Dharmapāla touched the very core of all philosophies, namely, the aim and the end of all worldly things.[2]

Śīlabhadra surprised even the most sanguine of his supporters, when, at the young age of 30, he defeated, refuting by profound and subtle arguments, a heretic of South India, who had dared to raise his head against the renowned Dharmapāla himself. As a reward for this most wonderful victory, the king (perhaps of Magadha) granted him the revenues of a village, inspite of persistent refusal of Śīlabhadra, who said, "A master who wears the garments of religion knows how to be contented with little and to keep himself pure. What would he do with a town?" But he had to bow to the will of the king, when the latter replied that the only way to encourage the scholars to press forward in the attainment of religion was the distinction thus shown between the learned and the ignorant in the shape of reward of revenues to the learned. But Śīlabhadra, a true Bhikṣu to the core, instead of keeping the revenues for his own personal use, built a vast and magnificent monastery. This monastery of

---

[1] Watters, o.c., II, p. 109.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 110, n.

Śīlabhadra, it appears, lay on the route from Patna to Gaya, for the pilgrim proceeded to Gaya (Brahmagayā) from this monastery.

From a mere disciple of Dharmapāla he rose, after him, to the most envied position in the then academic life of 'the Paṇḍita' the head of the Nālandā University.

In this capacity, he received Hiuen Tsiang, when the latter arrived at Nālandā, after visiting many other places. He appointed Jayasena to teach Yogaśāsrta to the Chinese visitor when the latter requested Śīlabhadra to instruct him in the work. Later on he "deputed the Master of the Law to expound to the congregation of the *Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra* and to comment on the difficulties of the *Vidyāmātra-siddhi-śāstra*."[1] To him, as the head of the University, Harṣa wrote "to send four men of eminent ability well acquainted with one and the other school and also with esoteric and exoteric doctrine to the country of Orissa."[2] It was, again, under his presidentship, that Hiuen Tsiang won over and converted to his faith a heretic of the Lokāyata philosophy tearing to pieces shred by shred the doctrines of the different heretical schools, namely, the Bhūtas, Nirgranthas, the Kāpālikas and Jutikas, the Sāṁkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas.[3] But, for him, Hiuen Tsiang would not have gone to the King of Kāmarūpa, for the pilgrim was hesitating, being afraid to undertake a long and perilous journey. He did so only when Śīlabhadra explained to him that by visiting Kāmarūpa, he would be doing the most meritorious act, namely, the conversion of Kumārarāja and his family to Buddhism.[4]

Unfortunately, only one work is assigned to him in the *Catalogue du fond Tibetain*.[5] *Ārya Buddha-bhūmi vyākhyāna*.

---

[1] Huwi *Li*, *o.c.*, p. 157

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 161-162.

[4] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 197.

[5] III, p. 365.

However, from what are told by the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang, we can reasonably say that the man, who could explain the whole collection of works amounting to some thousands of books, must have written many more books than the one to which we find a reference in the *Catalogue*.

Śīlabhadra's profound knowledge, his virtue and advanced age had earned for him the title of the '*pater familias*' of the Buddhist community.[1]

As to his date, it is very easily settled. He was the abbot of Nālandā when Hiuen Tsiang visited the place. Moreover, his hair had turned grey, so it appears that he must have been pretty old at the time of the traveller's visit, say, about sixty years old. He, therefore, flourished in the latter part of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Dharmakīrti may be said to have done a great service to Nālandā and incidentally to Buddhism, if he defeated the great Mīmāṁsaka-Kumārila and the still greater Vedantist—Śaṅkara—as would appear from the account of Tārānātha.[2] According to this account, Dharmakīrti refuted each and every one of Kumārila's uncommon assertions by a hundred arguments. Not content with this success, Dharmakīrti, like a king performing *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, announced by means of a bell, that those persons willing to join the dispute with him should come forward. Śaṅkarācārya took up the challenge and sent a messenger to Śrī Nālandā, to say that he was willing to join the dispute. But, as at this time, Dharmakīrti was not at Nālandā, having gone somewhere to the South, the controversy was postponed till the next year. Then, at Benares, in the presence of King Prasanna, Dharmakīrti and Śaṅkara started the debate. Before the actual debate opened, Śaṅkara laid down the conditions, which the defeated party must fulfil. He said that if Dharmakīrti and his party lost in the debate, they should either jump into the Ganges or join the *Tirthyas* (i. e join Hinduism), but if Śaṅkara and his party lost, they would jump into the Ganges and die. Śaṅkara was defeated several times. At least, he prepared himself to die, but before taking this last step, he forbade his pupil Bhattācārya to continue the debate and triumph over the cropped-head monks. He finished his instructions to the pupil with the prophetic words, "If you cannot triumph, I shall be born as your son. I shall crush them."

---

[1] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 112.

[2] Tārānātha, *o.c.*, p. 180.,

But this account of Tārānātha raises very important issues. First, if the Dharmakīrti he speaks of, is the same Dharmakīrti referred to by I-Tsing,[1] then we shall have to shift the hitherto known dates of Kumārila and Śaṅkara, provided the latter also are identical with the great Mīmāṁsaka and the first Advaitist, Kumārila and Śaṅkara respectively. Supposing that the two Dharmakīrtis are identical, then the probable period during which he flourished, may be put down as the first half of the seventh century A.D. I-Tsing, who toured India in 671-695 A.D., says that Dharmakīrti was one of the famous men "of late years",[2] and classes him with Dharmapāla, and Śīlabhadra, whom we know for certain to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century. We can, however, still narrow the limits of the period in which Dharmakīrti worked. This period appears to be from 639 to 671 A.D. because Hiuen Tsiang, who was in India from 635 to 639 A.D. and visited the most important centres of learning, does not seem to have ever heard of Dharmakīrti. While I-Tsing, who came some 30 years after, speaks of him as if he had not seen him. For, were he really living while he (I-Tsing) was in India, he would not hav said, "He made a further improvement in Logic", but "he has made.........". This implies that I-Tsing had not seen

---

[1] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 182.

[2] *Ib* . 181.

Dharmakīrti, who must have died just a few years before I-Tsing landed on the Indian shore, at Tāmralīpti.

We have now to bring Śaṅkara and Kumārila to live with Dharmakīrti in the middle of the seventh century A.D. (640 to 675).

Let us see if it is possible to do so.

We would have given up the attempt to make Śaṅkara a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, as we know even the actual date of his birth,[1] but for Dr. Pathak's remark that Śaṅkarācārya precedes Śāntarakṣita,[2] who, we know, lived in the first half of the eighth century A.D. He thus raises the possibility of Śaṅkara being a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, both having probably lived in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. Pathak seems to base his statement on the fact that Śāntarakṣita refers to the *Vivartavāda* in lowing Jvee[3] :s

Athāvibhāgamevedam brahmatattvam sadā sthitam
Avidyopaplavālloka vicitram tvabhimanayate

Now Brahma always remains indivisible. But due to an eclipse in the form of nescience people regard it as manifold. From this Pathak thinks that the doctrine here referred to is that of Śaṅkara.

---

[1] The following two verses give the birth-date and the year in which Śaṅkara was born :

and

nidhināgebhavahanyabde vibhave māsi mādhave śukle tithau
daśamyām tu Śaṅkaracāryodayah smṛtah

and

prāsūta tiṣya śaradāmabhiyatavatyā
mekadaśdhikaśantona catussahasram.

This means that Śaṅkara was born on the 10th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* of 3889 of Kaliyuga, i.e., Śaka 709 or A.D. 787.

[2] *Dharmakīrti's Trilakṣaṇahetu, A.B.O.R.I.*, Pt. I, p. 79.

[3] *Tattavasaṁgraha*, G.O.S., verse 144.

But, why should we say that Śaṅkara's *Māyāvāda* is referred to in the verse? Can it not refer to the same doctrine first propounded by Gauḍapāda or his disciples? If Śaṅkara's doctrine was here alluded to, then Kamalaśīla, who gives us the names of the authors of the doctrines referred to by his *guru*, would surely have given us the name of Śaṅkara, who must have been his guru's contemporary or immediate predecessor.

If we accept Pathak's remark, then Śaṅkara will have to be made a contemporary of Kumārila, and possibly of Dharmakīrti also. But the fact that Śaṅkara's date is fixed at 787 A.D.[1] and that Kamalaśīla is silent about the author of the doctrine referred to by his *guru* and commented upon by him are enough to justify us in holding the view that Śaṅkarācārya did not precede Śāntarakṣita.

What about Kumārila? He certainly lived before Śāntarakṣita, for the latter often refers to his views; in fact, Bhattacharyya says that *Tattvasaṅgraha* seems to have been composed specially to refute the doctrine of Kumārila.[2]

Whatever be the facts, there is little doubt Dharmakīrti's own contribution to Logic, his *Nyāyabindu* is extent in original Sanskrit, on which a commentary was written by Prajñākaragupta. This has now been edited by Rāhula Sāṁkṛityāyana.

Now from some leading facts of the life of Śāntarakṣita, *viz.* that he built a monastery in Tibet in 749 and died there in 762 A.D, we can at least say this much; that Śāntarakṣita must have written his book some years before he proceeded to Tibet, i.e., say about 730 A.D. Thus, if the work was written after Kumārila died, then we can say that Kumārila must have lived in c. 700 A.D., a date which has been generally accepted[1]; if it was written when Kumārila still lived and preached as a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita then Kumārila must be placed in the first half of 700 A.D. If we take the first alternative, even then Kumārila cannot be placed earlier than 700 A.D.; consequently the account of Tārānātha which makes him contemporaneous with Dharmakīrti will have to be dismissed as inspired by religious bigotry and false pride.

---

[1] Keith also agrees with this date, *o.c.*, p. 474.

[2] *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Foreword, *o.c.*, p. LXXXIII.

We have, therefore, to deprive Dharmakīrti of the great honour done to him. But it is much better that his fame should rest on the deeds he performed rather than on false reports. Of these we have previously spoken and so we now pass on to other great luminaries of Nālandā.

The life of the author of *Śikṣā-Samuccya*, contents of which we have summarised elsewhere, makes most interesting reading. Śāntideva's life is preserved to us in a MS., now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal[2], and *Bauddha Gana-o-Doha.* The manuscript gives the name of its writer as Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapīya Śrī Kirāta Paṇdita, though the name of the work is not known.

Śāntideva, according to this writer, was the son of King Mañjuvarman. His mother, seeing him disgusted with worldly life, told him that a king, a painter and a poet do not go to heaven. She, therefore, advised him to go to Buddha Bodhisattva-deśa Śrī Mañjuvajrādhiṣṭhāna (that is, the country of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, the abode of Śrī Mañjuvajra). On the way he came across a girl who took him to her guru Siddha Śrī Mañjuvajrasamādhi. This Siddha Puruṣa told him that he should go to Madhyadeśa (Central India) to the king of Magadha, after having realized Mañjuvajra and after having obtained knowledge of Mañjuśrī from him in 12 years.

---

1. See Keith, o,c., p. 474.
2. Shastri, *Catalogue, Bengal*, No. 9990, I, pp. 51-53.

The manuscript further tells us that he entered the Nālandā Mahāvihāra under a disguise. His sobriety and solemnity earned for him the name of Śāntideva. Perhaps, this name was given to him in jest by other students, as it appears from the later account. At Nālandā, he studied the three *Piṭakas*.

Once some students were anxious to know if this Śāntideva knew anything new. And an opportunity was offered to them to test his knowledge by a custom that was prevalent at Nālandā. Every year in the bright half of the month of *Jyeṣṭha* (May-June), a discourse was given by pandits in imitation of the discourse of *Ruddhi Pratihāryas* which refuted the *Śāstras* of Purāṇa and others. So, on this day, they asked Śāntideva to give them a lecture on any new subject he could choose. Śāntideva humbly replied that he knew nothing. But the students persisted (because they were out for fun), as they knew very well that he was a blockhead and would make a fool of himself in the assembly, if he spoke anything. Then he was led out into the huge open space or hall of the Dharmaśālā, lying outside to the north-west of the *Vihāra*, where eminent pandits had assembled. Surrounded by this distinguished gathering, Śāntideva just thought to himself, "I have composed three works—*Sūtrasamuccaya*, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*." In this frame of mind, he went to the professorial chair (*siṁhāsana*) and asked the audience, "Shall I lecture to you on the *Ṛṣis* like Jina (Buddha) have said (*Ārṣa*) or what others have said (*Anārṣa*) ?"

He then read out to them the *Caryāvatāra* (i. e. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*). A miracle then happened, when he was reciting the following verse from the work :

Yadā na bhavo nābhavo mateh santiṣṭhate purah
Tadānyāgatyabhāvena nirālambah prasājyate

"When a man gets rid of such ideas as existence or non-existence, then he attains perfect peace as there is no other condition of which he can think of."

As Śāntideva was finishing this verse Lord Mañjuśrī appeared before him and took him away with Him into the *antarikṣa* and there they both gradually disappeared. The students were stunned by this supernatural sight and talked about his departure, and then went to the room of Śāntideva. Here they found his three works and offered them to the world.

We may disbelieve the supernatural event. But this much stands out clearly from the story that Śāntideva's genius was not recognized for a long time. The students took him to be a second "*Jaḍabharata*". It was, however, when they persisted in their attempt to fool Śāntideva, that the latter shone forth in all his brilliance, and showed them his metal, and in appreciation of his genius the Lord Himself came down to escort him to heaven.

Śāntideva flourished according to Bendall[1] in the later half of the eighth century. But this date has been shifted some years back, *viz.* between 695-743 A.D., because Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasiddhi* quotes a full verse from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva. Since the former lived in the major part of the 8th century A.D. and since the latter is not spoken of by I-Tsing, Bhattacharyya has assigned the date 695-743 to Śāntideva.[2]

Śāntarakṣita—the man can hardly be separated from Sāntarakṣita—the philosopher, logician and tantric. Of his private life we know very little. Some say that he was a native of Gaur[3]. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, on the strength of another Tibetan source, says that he was born in the royal family of Zahor, which cannot be Lahore as Waddell has said,[4] but

---

[1] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Intro., p. V. referred to by Bhattacharyya, *o.c.* p. XXIII.

[2] *Tattvasaṅgraha*, o.c., Foreword, p. XXIII.

[3] Das, *Journey to Lahsa and Tibet*, p. 295.

[4] *Lamaism*, p. 379 *et seq*,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

which was very likely, as Bhattacharyya has pointed out, the small village of Sabhar in Pargana of Vikramapura.[1]

The most important phase of his life is his visit to Tibet. He had the distinction of being the first pandit who was officially invited to Tibet by King Khir-son-den-stan. In Tibet, as we are told by Das,[2] he was not well received by the gods and demi-gods. These caused a great damage by making the rivers flow, etc. So Śāntarakṣita was sent to Nepal. After a time, the king sent messengers to call him back. This time Śāntarakṣita advised the king to send for Padmasaṁbhava, a pandit of Nālandā, and a great tantric scholar; the latter by his magic powers could control and quiet the gods and spirits. Padmasaṁbhava arrived and did what was expected of him. Then, in A.D. 749, Śāntarakṣita and Padmasaṁbhava erected a monastery after the model of the monastery of Odantapuri. Śāntarakṣita had the honour of being the first abbot of this new monastery called "Samye". For thirteen years he worked in the cause of the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet and finally laid his life at its altar in the year 762 A.D. He was called Paṇḍita Bodhisattva or Dharmaśāntighoṣa.

Arguing back from the date of his death, viz. A.D. 762 and taking into account the various leading factors of his life, namely, that he visited Tibet for the first time in 743 A.D. as has been shown by Bhattacharyya,[3] and assuming that Śāntarakṣita was about 40 years old, because he had by this time written *Tattvasaṅgraha*, *Tattvasiddhi*, etc., and become so famous that he was called for by the King of Tibet, we come to A.D. 703, a date almost identical with that given by Bose, viz. 705 A.D.[4] in the reign of King Gopāla, though this king, according to Banerji, came to the throne in 750 A.D.[5]

---

[1] o.c. p. XIII.

[2] *Indian Pandits in Tibet, J.B.T.S., I.* Part I (1893), pp. 1-31.

[3] o.c., p. XIV.

[4] *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 124.

[5] *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 47.

Padmasaṁbhava, who followed Śāntarakṣita into Tibet, was the son of the King of Udayana, Indrabodhi. Leaving aside the folk-lore about his birth and early life, which is not based on reliable evidence what we know positively of him is that he resided at the Nālandā University, when the Tibetan king sent an invitation to him, and that he was a prominent expounder of the *Yogācāra* school.

In Tibet, he founded Lamaism, and is now deified and celebrated in Lamaism as the Buddha himself. How he established this new religion is graphically described by Waddell from whose account we have drawn the information about Śāntarakṣita and Padmasaṁbhava. He says,[1] "He vanquished all the chief devils of the land. His most powerful weapons in warring with the demons were the *vajra*, symbolic of the thunder of Indra, and spells extracted from the Mahāyāna gospels, by which he shattered his supernatural adversaries." We have already referred to the part he played in the establishment of a monastery in Tibet.

From the work that Padmasaṁbhava did in Tibet, namely the spread of Tantrism, we can well imagine what a hold the Tantric faith must have had upon the intelligentsia of Nālandā in particular and of India in general; or else how could a pandit of Nālandā, who was specially sent for, deliver any other message to the inhabitants of "the roof of the world," but belief in magic and sorcery and worship of innumerable gods and goddesses and demons?[2]

This Lamaism or Tantric Buddhism with some elements from the Bon religion was firmly established in Tibet by Kamalaśīla. He was a professor of *Tantra* at Nālandā[3], he was besides a great philosopher and logician. The circumstances under which he was called by the Tibetan king are very interesting.

---

[1] Waddell, o.c., pp. 24-28.

[2] See *Ibid.*

[3] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, o.c., pp. 129-130.

One Hoshang, a pandit from China, gave a very peculiar interpretation of *Prajñāpāramitā* and other Buddhist *Śāstras.* As this was contrary to what Śāntarakṣita had taught, the people were in a fix. They did not know whom to follow. The king then arranged a debate between Śāntarakṣita and Hoshang, with a view to seeing as to who would win in the debate. As fortune would have it, Śāntarakṣita found that he was losing and he therefore requested the king to send for Kamalaśīla because he had great faith in his learning and powers of debate and was sure that he would bring victory to him.

Kamalaśīla came and easily defeated the Hoshang. The following lines[1] illustrate what a great debatee he was, and how he could assail his opponent and bring him round to his own view.

First of all the Hoshang said, "When virtuous or sinful acts are performed the result is either translation to heaven or damnation in hell. So in none of these conditions could the *Sattva* be liberated from worldly existence. Both were therefore obstructions to his attaining to Buddhahood, i.e., *Nirvāṇa.* "For instance," he continued, "the sky becomes equally obscured by a white or dark cloud. Wherefore one should not think on any subject at all. If the mind remains absolutely free from thought, i.e., inactive, then emancipation from *Bhava* (worldly existence) is possible and not otherwise. What of Vikalpanā (absence of thoughtfulness, i.e., intellectual activity in body or in speech) is equivalent to the state of *Nirālaṁba* i.e., the total isolation or abstraction of the mind."

Kamalaśīla replied, "To say (that it is possible) to be free from thought, (in other words) to be in a state of absolute mental inactivity, constitutes actual rejection of *Pratyā-*

---

[1] From Das, *Indian Pandits in Tibet*, J.B.T.S., I, Part I. 1893, pp. 1.31.

vekṣaṇa Prajñā, knowledge derived from critical examination (of things and phenomena). The root (basis) of *Samyak Jñāna* (perfect wisdom) is indeed *Pratyāvekṣaṇa Prajñā*. Therefore, the abandonment of it is tantamount to rejecting the *Lokāvigata Prajñā i.e.*, wisdom that transcends the faculties of man and god. Without the *Pratyāvekṣaṇa Prajñā* how can the *Yogī* (the meditative devotee) find himself in the state of *Avikalapanā*, i.e. the state of absolute abstraction ? If it is possible to have absolute inactivity of mind so as to cause unconsciousness, i.e., the loss of the power of cognition of all external or internal phenomena, and absent of knowledge, then the mind would be contending against inactivity itself. If I think that I must not remember any *Dharma* that very thought belies the determination and brings all remembrance with greater force. If again the mind be thrown into a state of unconsciousness i.e., it's functions be paralysed, it may remain in that state. Without *Samyak Pratyāvekṣaṇa* there are no means of attaining to the state in which the mind is free from *Vikalpanā*. If only the working of faculty of the memory is suspended, in the absence of *Samyak Pratyāvekṣaṇa*, one cannot realise that all things and phenomena (*Sarvadharma*) are in their nature void and their apparent state impermanent and unless that is acquired, the obfuscating process that is constantly at work will not be removed. Therefore, by *Samyak Prajñā* the false (delusive) notions should be removed, and while everything is remembered, all things cannot be forgotten, (*Sarvadharma*) which is evidently a contradiction. The working of the memory and the inactivity of the mind cannot co-exist. While the former is activity, the latter is its negation, and these according to the Hoshang cannot co-exist. How can *Purvasthāna Anusmaraṇa*, i.e., a remembrance of one's place and condition of former existence be obliterated ? Therefore the *Yogī* who thinks by discrimination acquires *Samyak Prajñā*, and meditating on the inner and outer phenomena (*Sarvadharma*) with reference to the three times, loses the *Vikalpanā* (diversity of thought) and thereby becomes free from erroneous notions and conceptions. In this manner, being well versed in the *Upāya* (mean) and *Jñāna* (knowledge) one should be free from darkness and thereby acquire the state of *Saṁbodhi Dharma* Supreme Enlightenment."[1]

Being a disciple and a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla must have lived in A.D. 720-780, because he must have been at least 25 years of age when he wrote the commentary (*Pañjikā*) on *Tattvasaṅgraha*, which seems to have inspired confidence in Śāntarakṣita. It was he who said to the Tibetans that Kamalaśīla would bring victory to the side of real *Dharma*, when a division would arise in the Buddhist camp in Tibet.[2] *Tattvasaṅgraha* was perhaps written in A.D. 740, before Śāntarakṣita went to Tibet. And as Kamalaśīla was sent for, just before Śāntarakṣita died, in 762 A.D., we may allow some 20 years more to Kamalśīla, that is, 780 A.D.

Candragomin was another of the great pandits of Nālandā, whose contribution to the development of Tantrism appears to be great. The record of the number of books he wrote is staggering. No less than 60 books, all written in Sanskrit, are attributed to him. To mention a few of them: 1. *Siṁhanāda Sādhana*, 2. *Mahākāruṇikā stotra*, 3. *Rakṣācakra*, 4. *Abhicāra Karman*.

The very names of the works are enough to show their character. They are evidently Tantric, which shows that more and more interest was taken in the development of this cult, even perhaps to the detriment of other studies. Our Candragomin, however, appears to be a versatile writer. For, besides writing extensively on *Tantra*, he distinguished himself in literature, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, Music, the fine arts and the science of medicine.[3] In Logic in particular, next to *Tantra* he was so well-versed that he was the first from the Bengal school of logicians to attract the attention of the literary world.[1]

---

[1] Das, *J.B.T.S.*, I, Part I. 1893, pp. 1-31.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, o.c., pp. 121-122.

This Candragomin is not the same Candra, the author of the Candra grammar, on which Dharmapāla wrote a commentary. For even if Tibetan works were to tell us that he was a contemporary of Śīla, son of Śrī Harṣa, who reigned in 700 A.D., the very nature of his works which are purely Tantric, shows him to be a writer who must have flourished in the eighth century. For it is about this time, that Tantrism was becoming an all-important subject of the day.

We have the most trustworthy account of Vīradeva who was appointed governor of Nālandā by King Devapāla.[2] This Vīradeva was a resident of Nagarhara which is in the vicinity of modern Jalalabad.[3] He probably came to Nālandā, thinking that it was the only place in India which would recognize his merits and honour him accordingly. For the inscription says, "He had studied all the *Vedas* and reflected on the *śāstras*."[4] 'This quintessence of intelligence,' as he is ascribed in the inscritpion, was highly revered by the king. And the king, perhaps, translated his appreciation of the man into action by getting him appointed by the decree of the monks as a permanent governor of Nālandā.[5]

From line 12, which speaks of the greatness of Vīradeva, we incidentally learn that Nālandā was a very renowned *vihāra*, it runs thus ; "And who, on becoming the lord of the lady Great Fame, graced though he be already was here by Nālandā, governed (by and) true (to him and) decorated by a ring of famous *vihāras*, was well praised by good people as

---

1. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XX.
2. *Ghosrawa Inscription, Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 311.
3. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, p. 43.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 10-11.
5. *See Frontispiece.*

a good man." The words "decorated by a ring of famous *vihāras*" perhaps refer to the Nālandā seal, having a Dharma-cakra and two gazelles, which was very likely used for the purpose of honouring those person, who were appointed governors or pandits of Nālandā.

Another inference, though of little importance, that can be drawn from the above phrase is that there were very many *vihāras*, that is to say, colleges at Nālandā.

This Vīradeva erected two *caityas* on the hill Indraśaila (or Giryek, about 5 miles south-west of Ghosrawa).[1]

Of greater importance than the account of Vīradeva, however, is the fact, conclusively proved by this inscription, that Buddhism and more particularly Nālandā University, was in a flourishing condition in the 9th or according to some scholars 10th century A.D., to which period Devapāla's rule is assigned.[2]

We take note of Buddhakīrti, not because he was a very distinguished scholar of Nālandā but because, in him, we find the last connecting link between the Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, and because he was perhaps the last great scholar that the University produced before it was destroyed by the Moslems. The connecting link is found in the fact that our pandit was a contemporary of Abhyankara Gupta of the Vikramaśilā University. The latter flourished towards the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.[3] Soon after, in this period, may be these pandits were witnesses, the famous universities were razed to the ground, monks slain, and the vast and gigantic libraries burnt by the Moslems.

---

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, Line 11, p. 311.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
3. See Bose, o.c., p. 137. Bose does not quote the source. It appears that he has mainly culled his information from Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism*, or Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*.

The pandits of Nālandā were famous all over India for their knowledge. Countless pandits of different faiths had to go away overcome by a sense of shame and disgust or renounce their faith and become converts to Buddhism on being worsted in discussion. We have mentioned previously the specific instances, namely, of Dharmapāla, Sthiramatī, Śīlabhadra, and Hiuen Tsiang. The last may well be included among the pandits of Nālandā, for it was Nālandā that made him what he afterwards became, a pandit conversant with the doctrines of *Bhūtas*, *Nigraha*, the *Kāpālikas*, *Jutikas*, the *Sāṁkhyas* and the *Vaiśeṣikas*, besides acquiring a thorough knowledge of the cardinal principles of Buddhism so as to maintain them against all the above mentioned faiths.

Harṣa's tribute to the pandits of Nālandā is worth mentioning. In a letter to Śīlabhadra, the head of the Nālandā convent, he wrote,[1] "Now I know that in your convent there are eminent priests and exceedingly gifted ones, belonging to different schools of learning, who will undoubtedly be able to overthrow them (priests of the Little Vehicle). So now, in answer to their challenge, I beg you to send four men of ability, well acquainted with one and the other school, and also with the esoteric and exoteric doctrine, to the country of Orissa."

Even apart from the fact that the tribute comes from so great a king as Śrī Harṣa, himself a very distinguished poet and dramatist, the words are very important, because they speak of the versatility of the pandits of Nālandā. The pandits could discuss and discourse not only on all the Mahāyāna doctrines which the Nālandā University championed, but on all other systems, Hīnayāna and others, which we have mentioned in the case of Hiuen Tsiang.

Nālandā was represented by no less than 1000 pandits in the grand assembly convened by Śrī Harṣa at Kānyakubja to investigate the treatise of the Master of the Law of China (Hiuen Tsiang).[1] This fact alone is enough to speak of the importance of the University and the pandits who had the honour to represent it.

---

[1] Hwui Li, o.c., p. 160.

We shall close this topic about the pandits of Nālandā with a glance at their customs and manners.

The head of all the pandits, the teaching staff and others, was called a Superior. Under him was the Karmadāna or Vihārasvāmī or vihārapāla. He was the Chief Officer next to the Superior and to him the utmost deference was paid.[2]

The pandits believed in the maxim "honour where honour is due". And in accordance with this truism a distinction was made between the learned and the unlearned. The former were given the best rooms in the monastery, and servants were made to wait upon them. Again, if they gave daily lectures they freed from the business imposed upon the inmates of the monastery,[3] whereas an ordinary priest was given just the treatment he deserved. Though food and lodging were supplied to him, all the other amenities that were shown to the revered and the learned were withheld from him. "He was regarded as a mere priest"[4]

The pandits were themselves very strict in regard to their own discipline. For a teacher himself resigned for committing an act, which was quite innocent, but which was in contravention of the monastric rules ; perhaps this incident must have led to I-Tsing to remark that "the rites of the monastery Nālandā are still more strict."[5]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

[2] I-Tsing, *Nan-hae-k'i-kwei-nin-fā-chu'en*, referred to by Beal, *J.R.A.S.* XIII (N.S.), p. 571.

[3] I-Tsing, o.c., p. 64.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

A peculiar custom prevailed at Nālandā in regard to the manner in which venerable and learned pandits travelled. "These," says I-Tsing,[1] "ride in sedan-chairs, but never on horse back." That means they were carried in palanquines.

The pandits of Nālandā showed the same zeal and enthusiasm for the religious and monastric practices which Buddha had prescribed, even when they seemed to be engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge.

The same observance of the Rain-retreat and the assignment of rooms according to the ranks of the priests; the same *Upasampāda* ordination, though in a different way,[3] the priests followed even at such a distance of time, as the 7th century A.D. when I-Tsing visited Nālandā. This shows that even though the place had outgrown itself. from a mere town, oft visited by Buddha with his small band, to a very enviable position in the eyes of the world as an international centre of learning, it still retained the old practices which the world-honoured had taught.[4] And these it found "beneficial," for in following the world-honoured, it was known and honoured in the world.

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Chapter VI

Ritualism Of Nālandā Buddihsm

Excavations at Nālandā have brought to light numerous images in bronze and stone. They are worked out in such a variety of shapes that it is but natural to inquire what the University had to do with so many variegated images. One should also ascertain, what part, if any, they played in the education of the student. It is these and other questions that are discussed in this chapter.

Theology, we said in chapter IV, was compulsory for the student. Its study, however, did not consist in a mere theoretical knowledge of the subject. The student was required to perform the religious rites and worship of images which he had read in books. Of course, these rites and ceremonies were mainly those taught by the later Mahāyāna Buddhism. Only such rites as *Caityavandana* (which is described below) belonged to the early Buddhism. The worship of images was a distinct feature of the Mahāyāna, and the situ later Tantrayāna.

The rites at Nālandā began with a bath in the morning. "Every morning," writes I-Tsing, "a *ghanṭi* is sounded to remind the priests of the bathing-hour. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes a thousand (priests) leave the monastery together and proceed in all directions towards a number of great pools of water (near Nālandā) where all of them take a bath."[1] From the graphic description quoted above, it would appear that a morning bath was obligatory for all and that it could not be taken at any time one liked but only at the prescribed hour.

This bath was followed by the Ablution of the Holy Image (Buddha). "The priest in charge (*Karmadāna*)", says I-Tsing, "strikes a *Ghaṇṭā* (a gong) *for an announcement*. After stretching a jewelled canopy over the court of the monastery, and ranging perfumed water-jars in rows at the side of the temple, an image of either gold, silver, copper or stone is put in a basin, of the same material, while a band of girls plays music there. The image having been anointed with scent, water with perfume is poured over it...After having been washed, it is wiped with a clean white cloth; then it is set up in the temple where all sorts of beautiful flowers are furnished"[2] These rites, however, were to be performed "by the resident members under the management of the priest in charge."[3] Hence we may call this rite a public-rite.

The statement immediately following the above will make our remark explicit. "In individual apartments of a monastery," continues the same author, "priests bathe an image every day so carefully that no ceremony is omitted."[4] We are not told what the next rite was after placing the image in a temple. But we presume that the priest must be chanting some *stotras*, or *mantras*, etc.

But this was not all. Late in the afternoon or in the evening twilight another rite was gone through. This was the *Caitya-vandana*. I-Tsing has given a very vivid description of this ceremony. "All the assembled priests

---

1. I-Tsing, o.c., pp. 108-9. This would be true even today in many *āśramas*, and religious institutions.
2. I-Tsing, o.c., pp. 147-9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
4. *Ibid.*

come out of the gate of their monastery, and walk three times round a Stūpa, offering incense and flowers. They all kneel down, and one of them who sings well begins to chant hymns describing the various virtues of the Great Teacher with a melodious, pure and sonorous voice, and continues to sing ten or twenty *ślokas*. They in succession return to the place in the monastery where they usually assemble. When all of them have sat down, a Sūtra-reciter, mounting the Lion-seat (Siṁhāsanam), reads a short Sūtra. The Lion-seat of well proportioned dimensions is placed near the head priest. Among the scriptures which are to be read on such an occasion the 'Service in three parts' is often used. This is a selection by the venerable Aśvaghoṣa. The first part containing ten *ślokas* consists of a hymn in praise of the three 'Honourable Ones' (*Triratna*). The second part is a selection from some scriptures consisting of the Buddha's words. After the hymn, and after reading the words of the Buddha, there is an additional hymn, as the third part of the service, of more than ten *ślokas*, being prayers that express the wish to bring one's good merit to maturity.

These three sections follow one another consecutively, from which its name—the Three-part service—is derived. When this is ended, all the assembled priests exclaim '*Subhāṣita* !'

After the Sūtra-reciter has descended, the head priest, rising bows to the Lion-seat. That done, he salutes the seats of the saints, and then he returns to his own. Now the priest, second in rank, rising, salutes them in the same manner as the first, and afterwards bows to the head priest.

When he has returned to his own seat, the priest third in rank performs the same ceremonies, and in the same manner do all the priests successively."[1]

The above was the usual mode of *Caityavandana*. But at Nālandā 'the same worship was performed in a slightly of water (near Nālandā) where all of them take a bath."[1] From the graphic description quoted above, it would appear that a morning bath was obligatory for all and that it could not be taken at any time one liked but only at the prescribed hour.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-4.

This bath was followed by the Ablution of the Holy Image (Buddha). "The priest in charge (*Karmadāna*)", says I-Tsing, "strikes a *Ghanṭā* (a gong) *for an announcement.* After stretching a jewelled canopy over the court of the monastery, and ranging perfumed water-jars in rows at the side of the temple, an image of either gold, silver, copper or stone is put in a basin, of the same material, while a band of girls plays music there. The image having been anointed with scent, water with perfume is poured over it...After having been washed, it is wiped with a clean white cloth; then it is set up in the temple where all sorts of beautiful flowers are furnished"[2] These rites, however, were to be performed "by the resident members under the management of the priest in charge."[3] Hence we may call this rite a public-rite.

The statement immediately following the above will make our remark explicit. "In individual apartments of a monastery," continues the same author, "priests bathe an image every day so carefully that no ceremony is omitted."[4] We are not told what the next rite was after placing the image in a temple. But we presume that the priest must be chanting some *stotras*, or *mantras*, etc.

But this was not all. Late in the afternoon or in the evening twilight another rite was gone through. This was the *Caitya-vandana*. I-Tsing has given a very vivid description of this ceremony. "All the assembled priests

---

1. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, pp. 108-9. This would be true even today in many *āśramas*, and religious institutions.
2. I-Tsing, o.c., pp. 147-9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
4. *Ibid.*

come out of the gate of their monastery, and walk three times round a Stūpa, offering incense and flowers. They all kneel down, and one of them who sings well begins to chant hymns describing the various virtues of the Great Teacher with a melodious, pure and sonorous voice, and continues to sing ten or twenty *ślokas*. They in succession return to the place in the monastery where they usually assemble. When all of them have sat down, a Sūtra-reciter, mounting the Lion-seat (Simhāsanam), reads a short Sūtra. The Lion-seat of well proportioned dimensions is placed near the head priest. Among the scriptures which are to be read on such an occasion the 'Service in three parts' is often used. This is a selection by the venerable Aśvaghoṣa. The first part containing ten *ślokas* consists of a hymn in praise of the three 'Honourable Ones' (*Triratna*). The second part is a selection from some scriptures consisting of the Buddha's words. After the hymn, and after reading the words of the Buddha, there is an additional hymn, as the third part of the service, of more than ten *ślokas*, being prayers that express the wish to bring one's good merit to maturity.

These three sections follow one another consecutively, from which its name—the Three-part service—is derived. When this is ended, all the assembled priests exclaim '*Subhāṣita* !'

After the Sūtra-reciter has descended, the head priest, rising bows to the Lion-seat. That done, he salutes the seats of the saints, and then he returns to his own. Now the priest, second in rank, rising, salutes them in the same manner as the first, and afterwards bows to the head priest.

When he has returned to his own seat, the priest third in rank performs the same ceremonies, and in the same manner do all the priests successively."[1]

The above was the usual mode of *Caityavandana*. But at Nālandā, the same worship was performed in a slightly different manner because it was difficult to assemble a large number of priests in one place. At Nālandā, therefore, the worship was performed in the following manner. "Every day" says I-Tsing, "it is customary to send out one precentor to go round from place to place chanting hymns, being preceded by monastic lay servants and children carrying with them incense and flowers. He goes from one hall to another, and in each he chants the service, every time three or five *ślokas* in a high tone and the sound is heard all around. At twilight he would finish his duty."[1]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-4.

We have given above two modes of *Caityavandana*, one prevalent at Tāmralīpti, the other at Nālandā. And the reason for this procedure is that though I-Tsing says that the first method was prevalent at Tāmralipti, still it appears, after going through the whole narrative, that sometimes even the first method of *Caityavandana* was followed at Nālandā, when it would be convenient to do so.

I-Tsing concludes his description of the rituals with the words, "In addition (to the above referred to *Caityavandana?*) there are some who, sitting alone, facing the shrine (*Gandhakuti*), praine the Buddha is their heart. There are others who, going to the temple (in a small party) kneel side by side with their bodies upright, and, putting their hands on the ground, touch it with their heads and thus perform the Three-fold Salutation."[2]

It is rather surprising that neither Hiuen Tsiang nor I-Tsing speak of any of the Tantric images and their worship. I-Tsing only refers to the images of Buddha and *Hāritī*,[3] and Hiuen Tsiang, though he does mention Tārā,[4] Avālokiteśvara, Hāritī,[5] Buddha, Bodhisattva, never speaks of any other

---

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
4. o. c., II, pp. 103 & 174.
5. *Ibid.*, I, p. 110.

image, such as Marīcī, Jambhala, Mahākāla—all Tantric images—or of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and many others which have been discovered at Nālandā and many places in Magadha.

As a necessary complement to our account of the Nālandā ritualism, we shall describe in the following pages some of the most important images from the point of view of Buddhist iconography.

The images are carved out of black stone; white sandstone, and sometimes cast in copper and bronze.

The whole find of images may be classified into three as belonging to Early Mahāyāna (pantheon). Tantric Mahāyāna (pantheon) and Hindu pantheon.[1]

Originally it was intended to describe only a few of the images found at Nālandā. But just when the manuscript was being sent to the press, Kempers published his book on "*The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art.*" In it he refers to some unique images, of both the Buddhist and Hindu pantheon, discovered at Nālandā. And I think it fit to incorporate some of them here.

In this iconographical description of images we way proceed in a chronological order that is in the order in which they arose in the Buddhist pantheon.[2]

---

1. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. p. 113) has the following classification : Early Mahāyāna types, with Buddha and Bodhisattva images and votive *stūpas* ; then making the development of the Tantrayāna on the basis of the older Yogācāra doctrines, the appearance of Śaiva influences and images ; and finally the introduction of the Kālacakra system with Vaiṣṇava figures.
2. This, however, will have no reference to the actual time of the production of the images. For many of the images of Buddha, though they rank first in the pantheon, belong to a very late period, about 8th or 9th century A.D., to the time of the Pālas.

The images of Buddha thus come first. Of such images we take the bronze figure of Buddha.[1] It is standing on a lotus without a nimbus or an aureole. The right hand is raised in the *Abhaya-mudrā*, the left holding the hem of the upper garment. The robe covers both the shoulders and ends on both sides of the body in a fold in the shape of a swallow's tail. The usual marks : *ūrnā*, elongated ears, etc., are present. The hair is arranged in little curls, and the *uṣniṣa* is rather high.

Kempers, after first trying to show whether it is Dipāṁkara comes to the conclusion that it is 'Buddha.'[2]

We may compare this bronze Buddha, admittedly of the Pāla art, with the huge stone figure of Buddha from Jagdispura, a mile away from Nālandā.[3]

Next to draw our attention are the images of Maitreya, (Future Buddha), Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and other Bodhisattvas.

We have a very fine specimen of Maitreya in a stone image.[4] It is standing figure, richly decorated with ornaments. Its right hand is in *Varadamudrā*, boon-giving pose ; in the left there is an oval vase, and also the hem of the upper garment. As in the Buddha described above, the robe covers both the shoulders and ends on both sides of the body in a fold in the shape of a swallo's tail. On the left of the figure, in a corner, there is a worshipper.[5]

Kempers gives a beautiful figure of Mañjuśrī, Buddhist god of learning and wisdom, and a six-armed Avalokiteśvara, and reference to a number of figures of Lokeśvara (No. 43, 57, 62, 116).[1]

---

[1] See pl. I. For another bronze Buddha, but in a different posture, See pl. I. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1928-29, pl. LVII (a).

[2] *Nālandā Bronzes*, p. 18.

[3] See pl. II.

[4] See pl. III.

[5] For other figures of Maitreya from Nālandā see Kempers, *o.c.*, p. 31.

Among other Bodhisattvas found at Nālandā there is one that is lying in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. It is carved out in black stone. The figure of Bodhisattva (in the centre) is seated with *Dhyānamudrā*, in *Vajrāsana* on a lotus. The face is badly disfigured. All round the figure there is a beautiful scroll design, besides figures of Buddhas (?), a swan, a horse and symbols of Buddhist *Triratna*.[2]

We may compare with the above—a peculiar figure from Nālandā—Sāmantabhadra or Kṣitigarbha. "It is a Bodhisattva sitting with his right leg folded, the left knee being raised and fastened to the waist by means of the shawl which usually is carried round the upper part of the body. The right arm is broken at the elbow, the left holds a stalk or branch with three ramifications ending in buds or jewels."[3]

Of the gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon we first describe the goddesses Hāritī and Tārā. The worship of these images was prevalent among the Buddhist from a very early date. Figures of Hāritī can be traced even to the Graeko-Gandhāra art.[4] And there is no doubt that both Hāritī and Tārā were worshipped at Nālandā. As I-Tsing says, "The image of Hāritī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her kneess three or five children. Every day an abundant offering of food is made before this image."[5] The Nālandā figure of

---

[1] See o.c., pp. 27-30, figures 5 and 6.

[2] See pl. IV.

[3] Kempers, o. c., p. 31, figure 9.

[4] Figure of one of such images we have in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

[5] o.c., p. 37.

Hāritī illustrates well the description given by I-Tsing. "The goddess is sitting in the *Lalitāsana* on a seat, adorned with *vyālaka* motif ; a worshipper is pictured to the proper right. In front of the pedestal we notice a mirror, a dish with offerings (?) and a vase. The attributes of the goddess are a lemon in the right hand, the left holding a child which is sitting on her left knee."[1]

A number of figures of the goddess Tārā has been unearthed. And it is quite certain that Tārā was also worshipped at Nālandā. Of numerous such images, the one described below is perhaps the finest so far as art is concerned.[2] It is cast in bronze. The figure is seated in *Vajrāsana* on a lotus, supported by two dwarfish figures. On the pedestal, to the right, is a worshipper. In all there are 18 arms. The two principal ones are held in *Dharmacakramudrā* against the breasts ; others hold different kinds of emblems which are not clearly visible. It is fully decked with ornaments—crown, earrings, necklace, armlets, girdle, etc. Behind the figure, there is a circular *Prabhā*, rich in decoration, on the centre of which there are two figures, probably Vidyādharas, bearing a beautiful umbrella.

The guide merely calls the figure "18 armed Tārā."[3] But this is not enough from the iconographical point of view. The number of arms is indeed very peculiar, and we fail to identify or find a corresponding *Sādhana* referred to by Bhattacharyya in his *Buddhist Iconography*. If there were a book in any of the hands, then that symbol coupled with the *Dharmacakramudrā* would have justified our description of it as a special figure of Prajñāpāramitā.[4] Can it be a figure of Mahā Śrī Tārā ?

---

1. Kempers, *o.c.*, p. 46, figure 24.
2. See pl. V,
3. *Guide to Nālandā*, pl. VI, p. 7.
4. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhint Iconography*, p. 126.

Kempers describes other specimens of Tārā found at Nālandā.[1] Of these, the figure of Śyāma Tārā is worth noting. Of Bhrkuti Tārā or Gaurī, Kempers says that "We may safely assume that the goddess was actually worshipped at Nālandā."[2]

Other goddesses found at Nālandā and which belong to the Early Mahāyāna pantheon are Prajñāpāramitā[3] and Vasudharā.[4]

In the second class we shall first describe one of the emanations of Dhyānī Buddha, Akṣobhaya, namely, Vajrapāṇi. This figure is seated on a lotus in *Lalitāsana* pose with attendant figures on either side of its hanging leg. It has two hands, the right one holds a *vajra* and seems to rest on the breast; the left rests on the lotus seat and holds a lotus stalk. Among the ornaments are armlets, necklace, and a girdle. It wears a crown, and the hair hang down in curls on two sides of the head.

There is no Dhyānī Buddha in the tiara, but two such are represented on sides in '*Abhayamudrā*. On the back and above the central figure and the Dhyānī Buddhas there is a *stūpa*; on the left side of the lotus-stalk and on the pedestal there are inscriptions.

Of the later Tantrayāna pantheon, the most striking figures found at Nālandā are those of Trailokyavijaya Heruka, Marīcī, Jaṁbhala, etc.

A stone image of a god who tramples over Maheśvara and Gaurī represents Trailokyavijaya, one of the independent gods of the Tantrayāna Buddhist pantheon.[5]

---

[1] Kempers, *o.c.*, p. 40, figures 13 and 20.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 42, figure 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 43, figures 17 and 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, figure 21.

[5] Bhattacharyya, o.c., pp. 146-7 ; pl. XXIX (c).

So also the stone image, dancing in *Ardhaparyaṅka* on a lotus, the right hand bearing a vajra raised up, the left holding something like a bowl, and supporting a *Khaṭavāṅga* on his left shoulder and wearing a garland of skulls, answers to the description of the most popular of Tantric gods, Heruka.[1]

Jaṁbhala, the Buddhist god of wealth, is also found at Nālandā, and we have very interesting specimens of him in Nos. 202 and 641 (which represent a group of Jaṁbhalas).[2]

Of Mārīcī, though we have a good specimen in bronze figure 389, still we find a very beautiful image lying at some distance from the monastery area.[3] It is about six feet in height with a *prabhā* all round. It has three faces, the left face is that of a boar; has eight arms : right ones hold sword, *vajra*, arrow, fourth (broken); the left ones, bow, *aṅkuśa*...... Besides the central figure there are three figures of females, two on either side of the legs and one underneath the central figure. All have the faces of a boar. These three are the three among four companions Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī. Underneath the hands, on the left side, we have the figure of a flying woman.

She wears a long lower garment, a necklace, a girdle and a crown. The cluster of rays in which she resides happily, as the *Sādhana* says, is very beautifully portrayed. This description very nearly corresponds to the one given by Bhattacharrya of Mārīcīpicuva.[4]

Other Tantric images found at Nālandā which have been already taken note of are Yamāntaka, Vajrasattva, Aparājitā, Mañjuvara and Vajrāpāṇi. Of this group, Vajrapāṇi belongs to the Divine Bodhisattvas. His main characteristics are that

---

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
2. See Kempers, o.c., pp. 33-34, figure 11 and *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1927-28. p. 160.
3. See pl. VI.
4. Bhattacharyya, o.c. p. 96.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

he holds a *vajra* and in his tiara carries the images of his spiritual father Akṣobhaya.[1] Mañjuvara forms one of the varieties of the popular god Mañjuśrī. The Nālandā image bears all the signs—*Dharmacakramudrā*, Lion-vehicle, *Prajñāpāramitā* on lotus—except the last one, viz. the sitting, attitude which must be either *Lalitā* or *Ardhaparyaṅka*, whereas in the figure it is *Paryaṅka*.[2]

The finds have yielded one of the most unique types of Tantrayāna or better Kālacakrayāna images in the figure of Yamānataka. It has three faces, bearing a protruding tongue, canine teeth, two eyes (though the *Sādhana* requires three) and contortions of the brows. It has a big belly, is short and dwarfish...........He carries the sword, *vajra*, *mūsala* (?) in the three right hands, and lasso, the *ghaṇṭā* and axe (?) in the three left ones. He rides a buffalo, stands in the *Praytā-līḍha* attitude, and wears a garland of severed human heads.[3]

Another female figure, though identified as Kotiśrī,[4] seems to be the image of Vajraśārdā, though she does not fully satisfy the requirement of the *Sādhana*. Here she is sitting in *Bhadrāsana* on a lotus and her companions also have the same attitude; one of the figures carries *utpala* and the book.[5]

The fragmentary figure on the right is identified with the Buddhist goddess Aparājitā.[6] She is trampling upon Gaṇeśa. The figure to the right of the principal goddess seems to be Indra, and the rod held by him seems to be the handle of the parasol, which the god was to hold. If the image were not broken, we could have expected the *Capetadanamudrā* in the

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 9 and pl. XII (c).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 25, pl. XV (b) ; also *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1919-20, pl. V (a).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72, pl. XXVI (b) ; also *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1920-21, p. 39, pl. I.
4. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1919-20, pl. IV (a).
5. See pl. VII ; and Bhattacharyya, *o.c.*, p. 151.
6. See pl. VIII

right hand of the goddess and the *Tarjanīpāśa* in the left, and a parasol in continuation of the broken handle.[1]

The images of the Hindu pantheon found at Nālandā are those of Viṣṇu, Sūrya (M. No.1, 887)[2], Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā ; Balarāma and Anant Vāsudeva (M.No. 1, 442), Śiva, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa (M.No.4, 63 and 90).

We have a very beautiful image of Viṣṇu, prepared in the reign of the Pāla King, Devapāladeva.[3] "It is a deity standing between two attendants ; a hand consisting of snake-head forms a canopy over his head ; the attributes are : a small oblong object, a mace, a second mace or staff (!) and the discus. The *vanamālā* hangs down from the shoulders. Of the attendants the one on the proper right bears a vase, and the other a dish with fruits or something similar."[4]

Kempers has a fine figure of Sarasvatī in *Tribhaṅga* pose, with an attendant on either side. The figure of Gaṅgā is "shown standing on an animal which looks like a blend of elephant and *makara*. Her right hand is hanging down, whilst on the palm of her left hand she lifts a vase to the height of her shoulders."[6]

Of the remaining Hindu gods we have neither photographs nor descriptive details but of one, viz. Śiva and Pārvatī. They are sitting on a bull and a lion respectively, in a characteristic pose—Śiva's one hand touching Pārvatī's chin, and that of Pārvatī thrown round the neck of Śiva.[1]

---

[1] Bhattacharyya, *o.c.*. p. 154, pl. XLI (d), For a complete image from the Indian Museum, see *Ibid.*, pl. XLII (a).

[2] The brackets give the registered number of the images in the Nālandā Museum, and the number of the monastery where they were found.

[3] See French, *Art of the Pāla Empire*, pl. X.

[4] Kempers, o.c., p. 36. For another bronze Viṣṇu, from Nālandā, see *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1928-29, pl. LVII (b).

[5] See *Ibid.*, p. 47 ; fig 23.

[6] See *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49, fig. 25.

Now before we close this topic and take up the question of Nālandā's contribution to Art we shall pass a few remarks on the heterogeneous find of images.

Do the Purāṇic deities (Śiva, Pārvatī and Sarasvatī) along with the representations of the Buddhist hierarchy, as Marshall remarks, bear an eloquent testimony to the general catholicity and eclecticism of the people towards religious faith in later Mediaeval times[2], or do they show a gradual transformation in the Buddhist faith itself, from pure ethical and agnostic atheism to theism of the most democratic kind ?

More than catholicity and eclecticsim, it was rather a desire for the manifestation of the deity in various moods and forms found in other contemporary faiths—Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism—that seems to be the principal cause of such a variety of images. Consequently, there was an attempt made to show the superiority of the Buddhist theistic faith over others as is evidenced by the figures of Heruka and Trailokyavijaya, and Aparājitā who are represented as trampling upon Hara, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa.

To take up the query we had raised, to wit, why do not Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing refer to any of the Tantric images and their forms of worship ? Two answers suggest themselves. First, it appears that Tantrayāna, though it had been introduced into Buddhism since the 5th century, had not yet become very popular, and specially its later developments-Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna—made their appearance only about the 10th century A.D.[3] And it was only with these yānas that a host of gods and goddesses made their appearance. Secondly, the Chinese travellers confined themselves only to the record of the purer forms of Buddhism and hence they did not like to mention the Tantric images and their rites. May be that Tantric rites, as they implied secrecy, were not brought to their notice.

---

[1] A similar figure has been found, along with other images of the Buddhist pantheon, at a place called Kurkihar in the Gaya District. See pl. XII.

[2] *A.S.I.AR.*, 1922-23, p. 107.

[3] See Csonea, "The Origin of the Theory of Ādi Buddha," J.A.S.B. II (1833), p. 57.

The ritualism of Nālandā Buddhism, then, seems to have varied from time to time, as modifications took place in the faith itself. The *Caityavandana*, the Ablution of the Holy image (of Buddha), the chanting of *Gāthās*, etc., very likely, were replaced by the individual worship of these Tantric images. The form and nature of this worship we do not propose to describe. For every Tantric image had its own form of worship called *Sādhana*[1], the description of which would take us beyond our task.

---

[1] See *Sādhanamālā*, I and II, G.O.S., XLI.

Chapter VII

Student Life

In this chapter, we propose to discuss a number of details connected with the daily life of the students of Nālandā and other Universities. Our attention will be confined for the most part to the Buddhist Universities, as, it is with these Universities, that we are dealing here.

For a layman in this subject, it is simply difficult, we may say almost impossible, to imagine what a Buddhist student actually was. Accustomed as he is to see the majority of modern students returning home everyday in the afternoon he will be surprised to know that a Buddhist student passed eight to twelve years at a monastery[1] or a *Gurukula.* If the student was younger than the modern undergraduate, he is not to be confused with a modern schoolboy when we are told by, the *Vinaya Texts* and I-Tsing that he begged, that he did all the household duties of his preceptor,[2] such as sweeping the floor, we are not to suppose that he was a beggar, that he was merely a domestic servant. If we compare the dress of a modern University student with that of the Buddhist or Hindu student we find that the minimum a modern student requires a *dhoti,* a shirt, a coat and a cap, apart from the dress of the students who dress in European style, whereas the minimum of the ancient student was a *dhoti* and an *uttariya* or an upper garment if he was a Hindu: a robe, dyed yellow and made from rags collected from dust heaps if he was a Buddhist. The reader, as Rashdall says, will have to view things historically, and it may be that his imagination will be strained.

---

[1] According to I-Tsing the students passed only two or three years at the Universities. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 177.

[2] The word for "preceptor" in Pāli and the one often used in the *Vinaya Texts* is *Upajjhāya* (Sans. *Upādhyāya*).

As to the equipment with which a student entered upon his University course we have mainly relied upon the accounts of I-Tsing and Hiuen Tsiang, for they were in India for a number of years and possessed first hand information of the working of Buddhist institutions. Moreover, it is with the Buddhist Universities that we are mainly concerned here.

It appears that the knowledge of Sanskrit was essential for all those—whether they were Buddhist or Hindus—who wanted to prosecute their studies in Universities.[1] Knowledge of Sanskrit meant a thorough grasping of Sanskrit grammar called *Śabdavidyā* in technical language. This *vidyā*, be it noted, was, so to say, the first step in the attainment of supreme knowledge which could be obtained by *Adhyātma vidyā*, science of the Universal Soul or Philosophy. It comes last in the list of *vidyās*, the intervening ones being *Śilpavidyā* (Art), *Cikitsāvidyā* (Medicine) and *Hetuvidyā* (Logic).

Primary education thus consisted of *Śabdavidyā* (grammar). And the reason why grammar was taught to a student first was possibly this that, in India as well as in Europe, the educationist wanted to impress upon the boy's mind the idea of science, method, order, principle and system of rule.[2]

Beginners and students six years old, studied what I-Tsing[3] calls *Siddha-composition* and finished it within six months. The book seems to deal with elementary Sanskrit grammar and it was perhaps meant to encourage young students to prosecute their studies further. This inference is supported by the name of the first section of the book "Be there success."[1] The contents of it, according to I-Tsing, were as follows, "Forty nine letters of the alphabet (which) are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections, the total number of syllables is more than 10,000 or more than 300 *ślokas*."

---

[1] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 169.

[2] See Newman, *o.c.*, Preface, XIX.

[3] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, pp. 170-172.

This work was originally taught by Maheśvara-deva.

The student, thus, initiated into the elements of grammar, was given the *Sūtra* of Pāṇini as it was considered to be the foundation of grammatical science. Usually the student at the age of eight learnt this *sūtra* within eight months. The student also at this age learnt *The Book of Dhātu*.

This knowledge of grammar, however, was considered too elementary. The student was likened to a waste-land and in order to cultivate his mind, the student, when he reached the age of ten, was taught the *Book on the Three Khilas*. The study of this book equipped the student with a thorough knowledge of grammar. The first part of the book treated of the seven cases and ten *Las*, viz., the ten signs with 2 for the verbal tenses, and the eighteen finals, that is, the *Ātmanepada* and *Parasmaipada* forms of a verb with first, second and third person. The second part treated of the formation of words by means of combining a root and a suffix. The third part was almost the same as second. Three years of diligent study enabled the student to master this book.

Here, it appears, the secondary education of the student, as far as grammar was concerned, came to an end. Thereafter, he was led into more subtle and abstruse works on grammar. These works, though they professed to be commentaries on grammar, dealt with everything under the Sun. *Vṛti Sūtra*, one of the best commentaries on the *sūtra* of Pāṇini, and evidently a book on grammar, besides minutely explaining the meaning of the *Sūtra* "exposed the laws of the Universe, and the regulations of gods and men."[1] The same writer continues, "Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary and understand it after five years." It is difficult to understand what I-Tsing means by this. The student must be devoting his attention to some other works as well, because five years for the study only one work is too long a period.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

With *Vṛtti-sūtra* the study of grammar came to an end. However deeper study of Grammar seemed to have continued even at a later age. For Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk of the 13th century A.D., thought that he knew Grammar better than many people in Magadha. But when he went to Nālandā, he found many young disciples studying grammar with the Guru Rāhula, the Mahā-paṇḍita. And this Guru advised him to study the Sanskrit commentary and master it. And Dharmasvāmin has the humility to acknowledge that this did benefit him and helped him in understanding the meaning of the text (*Biography*, p. 95). All these years, efforts to train the memory of the student were made, and he was made to learn everything by heart. But now when he finished the *Vṛtti sūtra* "he began to learn composition in verse and prose." From the study of composition, he passed on to the study of *Hetuvidyā* (Logic) and *Abhidharmakośa* (Metaphysics). The student was taught to draw valid and invalid inferences by the study of *Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra*, while *Jātakamālā* increased his power of comprehension.

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

1. Like I-Tsing, Hiuen Tsiang's biographer gives a detailed description of grammar as taught at Nālandā, See Hwui Li, o.c., pp. 121-125.

Though the knowledge of these subjects was sufficient for a student to enter upon his University career,[1] still some students of advanced scholarship and thorough mastery over grammatical science studied the undermentioned works.

The *Cūrmi* of Pataṇjali and the *Bhartṛihari-śāstra*, a work containing 25,000 ślokas, and dealing with the principles of human life as well as of grammatical science, etc., and finally the *Peina* (probably Sanskrit '*Beda*' or *Veda*) were studied, as we said above by advanced students. Since the last mentioned work, viz. the *Peina*, the *śloka* portion of which was composed by Bhartṛhari, and the commentary portion by Dharmapāla, was read by advanced students also, it appears that all the works were studied by University students, though perhaps for entrance at Nāḷandā knowledge of even these was requisite if they thought of proceeding to Nālandā boasting that they were well-informed.[2]

From the absolute absence of any of the *vidyas* and courses of study mentioned in the curriculum of students, previous to the foundation of the Nālandā University, in the account, given by I-Tsing, the reader should not think that the student prior to his admission to the University, did not study any of the *vidyās* mentioned previously. Some of the *vidyās*, for instance, or *Dhanurvidyā*, *Sarvavidya* or *Cikitsāvidyā* were never meant for all and sundry. Kṣatriya students as a general rule would go in for archery, and if any one liked to study medicine or any other subject, he could also do so in the University.[3] As to other subjects, *Vedas*, *Vedānta*, *Sāṁkhya*, etc., we have the authority of Hieun Tsiang,[4] who tells us that the student who sought admision to the Univer-

---

1. See I-Tsing, p. 177.
2. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 177. What this '*Beda*' actually was, it is difficult to say. See I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 225.
3. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 113.
4. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 171.

sity of Nālandā must have deeply studied both old and new (books), because the keeper of the gate proposed some hard questions and many books are no other than the works of Hinduism,[1] such as *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, and *Śāstras-Sāṁkhva*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśesika*, etx., and works on Buddhism, in all its subdivisions. The same conclusion can be drawn from the words of I-Tsing also, who says that the students learn Vinaya works, and *sūtras* and *śāstras* as well.[2]

The student, therefore, before he entered the University of Nālandā, Vikramaśila, or Valabhī, had studied much more than our modern school-boy. And, though his knowledge may be favourably compared with our modern graduate, still he was regarded as a school student, until he was enrolled in the University by the gate-keeper.

For this reason, we would consider Nālandā as a University of Universities, entrance to which could be had only after the student had passed out from other smaller and inferior Universities, and the student, not merely a school boy but a University student wishing to be enrolled in a higher University. Support to this interpretation is lent by the words of I-Tsing[3] who says, "Here at Nālandā eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of their opinions by wise men, become far famed for their wisdom." It would be evident from the above quotation that students had already distinguished themselves but they traversed all the way to Nālandā from distant parts of India to get that stamp of culture and refinement which Universities like Oxford and Cambridge give to the modern Indian student.

---

1. Perhaps it would be better to call this division by the dichotomous term "Non-Buddhist", for "Hinduism" is a term of recent origin.
2. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 181, also p. 104.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

What was the actual method of teaching followed in the University? Were there lectures as we have at present addressed to a group of students, sometimes amounting to a hundred or more? Or was it the tutorial system, meaning that each student or a small group of students was personally attended to by the teacher?

From the records of Hiuen Tsiang it would appear that the method, in majority of cases, was tutorial. He says,[1] "The old and the young mutually help one another", that is, the old meaning the teacher, helped the student in his studies by explaining to him the various difficult passages of the book, etc. Hiuen Tsiang himself was taught the *Yoga śāstra* by Śīlabhadra, and many other, works, he learnt from Jayasena and others in the same manner.[2] The student, in his turn, as we shall see elsewhere in detail, assisted the teacher in performing all the domestic and religious duties.

Next to this tutorial method came discussion, and the student acquired much of the knowledge by listening to the discussions which were carried on from morning till night. Both Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing seem to have been very much impressed by this part of Nālandā's activities.[3]

But there were some subjects, mainly pertaining to the religious side of Buddhism and not to the philosophical, in which, we can, with some propriety, say that lectures were delivered. Hwui Li is quite clear on this point. He writes: "within the Temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without fail, even for a minute."[4] Even these lectures, very often took the shape of personal discussion between the teacher and the student, who could not follow the lecture or had some doubts regarding some topics in the lecture.[1] Numerous instances of such nature are met within the *Vinaya Texts* : *Cullavagga*, *Mahāvagga*, etc. Sometimes a professor lectured on knotty problems referred to him by the students, who, while discussing among themselves, could not solve them. Or as Buddha very often did, the professor lectured to the whole mass of students on some important problem that he had solved, or on some truth that he had divined.

---

[1] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.

[2] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, pp. 153-157.

[3] See Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, p. 170; I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 177.

[4] *o.c.*, p. 112.

Whether the students had to do some desk-work is a moot point. But it appears that the only writing work the student had to do was in the form of copying out manuscripts, the most important of these manuscripts being the *Prañjāpāramitā*. We have got epigraphical evidence to show that the copying of manuscripts was one of the important activities of the students.[2] Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing carried away hundreds of manuscripts from India, and many of them were copies by them, perhaps at Nālandā. For this purpose it is very likely that the slabs of stone were carved out in the Buddhist caves, as at Ellora, so that the student could put the book he was reading on the slab and use the same when he wanted to write.

Teaching on the whole was tutorial, more attention being paid to the needs of individual students. It is unlike the modern method of the professor coming to the class and lecturing on the particular part of a particular subject.

---

1. But as regards religious instructions too, tutorial method seems to have been more common. Cf. for instance, I-Tsing's words : The candidate begins to learn *Vinaya-piṭaka* ; he reads it day after day, and is examined every morning. Such is the way a teacher instructs in India. *o.c.*, p. 103.
2. See Bendall, *Cat. of Buddhist Sans. Mss. in the Univ. Liby.*, Cambridge, p. 101. Also *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., p. 105.

The Matriculation examination was conducted by the University itself. For this purpose, it had appointed gate-keepers who guarded the way to the higher University studies. The examination consisted of a few questions, which were put to all those who came from other quarters as strangers, with a desire to join the University and take part in the discussions. The amount of knowledge these students were expected to possess we have seen in the preceding paragraphs.

From the number of unsuccessful students, which was seven or eight in ten, it is evident that the examination must have been very strict. Students of moderate talent were not only bound to fail to get admission but by their exclusion they even forfeited their fame as eminent debaters.[1] This entrance examination, as is clear from words like "other quarters" and "strangers," seems to have been held for those students, who had not received their 'primary' and 'secondary' education at Nālandā. But for students who had received their 'primary' and 'secondary' education at Nālandā, and who were generally those who had embraced Buddhism, no such examination was necessary. They had to study first the Buddhist works of their faiths and systems.[2] Then in course of time, when they had finished certain works, they were placed in charge of various departments of the University the majority of them being appointed as ācāryas.

We have seen with that what knowledge the student entered the University, and how he received education in it. Let us now follow him to the University and see how he lived there.

If we rely solely upon I-Tsing for our knowledge then the minimum age at which a student obtained admission at Nālandā or Valabhī would be twenty, because, at the age of fifteen, a boy just began his study of *Vṛttisūtra* and he finished it at the age of twenty.[1] Having mastered this, he learnt such subjects as *Hetuvidyā* (Logic) and *Abhidharmakośa* (metaphyics). After studying all this, to quote the same author," (the students) thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhī in Western India."[2]

---

[1] Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 171.

[2] I-Tsing, o.c., p. 181.

But the statement of I-Tsing, we think, applies to those students who went to Nālandā to get the Nālandā seal on the knowledge and culture they already obtained by them.

We think, therefore, that there must have been other students who had passed their whole career at Nālandā, primarily as *Bhikkhus*. Such students must have entered the University not at the age of twenty but at least some five to seven years before, just after they had finished their studies in grammar.[3] For these students Nālandā was not the University of Universities, but merely a school for secondary education, from which they were gradually to pass on to Nālandā, the University.

Thus we have two ages at which a student entered the University :—one at which the outsiders, for example, Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra, entered the University, the minimum for which would be twenty ; and the other, at which young *Bhikkhus* joined the *saṅgha*, the minimum for which would be thirteen or fifteen.

Our main source of information on the state of discipline observed and maintained in the Nālandā University and other Buddhist institutions are the *Vinaya Texts*, which deal with rules and regulations prescribed from time to time by Buddha to be observed by what the *Texts* sometimes call "*Saddhivihārika*" and sometimes "*Śiṣyas*" and in general *Bhikkhus*. Perhaps more important than these codes of discipline are the contemporary accounts of the Chinese travellers, who had the opportunity to be eye-witnesses to the University colleges in action.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[3] As a matter of fact, we have the testimony of I-Tsing, who says that students who entered Buddhist institutions were of two classes—one were *Bhikṣus* (whom he calls *mānavas*), and the other *Brahmacārins* (students), o.c., pp. 105-106. This division, we think, corresponds to the one we have suggested.

Our university student was strikingly different from the Mediaeval European University student, as far as liberty was concerned. If the reader of books on Mediaeval European Universities would be astonished, as Rashdall[1] thinks, at the unfettered liberty—not to say the licence—which the European student enjoyed, the reader of books on ancient Indian Universities would be astonished at what may be called serfdom, which the Indian student had to go through, in order to acquire education. But what we term 'serfdom' now, was deemed as duty from the Indian standpoint and therefore the student did not feel the restraint that was put upon his freedom. The following passage from I-Tsing tells us how completely the student gave himself up to the teacher for the acquisition of knowledge, which could never be dreamt of in the Europe in the Middle Ages nor even in modern India. Says the traveller : "He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch in the night. First the teacher bids him to sit down comfortably. Selecting some passages from the *Tripiṭakas*, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not leave any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupil at fault, he makes him seek remedies and repent. The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes, or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. Then having examined water to see whether there are insects in it, he gives it to the teacher. Thus, if there is anything to be done, he does all on behalf of his teacher."[1]

---

[1] Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. 605.

It would be of interest to learn how a student was taught in Tibet at this time.

Dharmasvāmin tells us, "At the age of seven he mastered the Indian script, the Tibetan script and the Vivarta (Vartula) script, the method of translating (texts) and the drawing of *maṇḍalas*. From childhood he observed the five percepts of an *upāsaka*. From the age of 11 till 21, he attended continuously on dGra-bcom-pa the Elder Chaglotsāba and obtained the initiation (*abhiṣeka*) of Saṁavara, studied numerous precepts and *śāstras* of the Tantra and Sūtra and obtained the five commands of the Chittotpāda."

Dharmasvāmin was indeed an exceptionally devoted student, for he had taken a vow not to separate himself from ink and pen between the age of 17 and 45. (*Biography*, p. 50).

He was well versed in grammar, knew several books by heart, and had studied the *Guhyasamāja*, according to the Nāgarjuna method. (*Ibid*., p. 52).

This was true of all resident students, and generally the majority of students were resident students. If the passage speak of Buddhist students, it is equally true of a Hindu student, excepting such work as the examining of water etc., which was peculiar to the Buddhists. Hindu religious codes, *Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra*,[2] for instance, speak at length of the behaviour of the student towards the teacher of the day to day examination of the pupil's morals and of many other things.

---

[1] I-Tsing, o.c., p. 120.

[2] *Adhyāva* II.

The reason why the Indian student willingly underwent so much subjection, while his European brother was almost immune from such hardships, nay, on the contrary enjoyed unimaginable luxuries is to be found in the fact that the Indian paid no fees to his teacher. After the completion of his education, the student paid whatever he liked, and whatever he could to his preceptor. All preceptors, we think, did not pitch their demand so high when the pupil humbly asked the preceptor as to what he should pay him, as the preceptor of Kālidāsa's Kautsa. The teacher, in his turn, as he took no fees, made the student to work in his *āśrama* or *vihāra*, as his domestic life must be carried on. So, very often besides doing the work of the preceptor, as shown above, the student had to go for alms. This was true of the Buddhist *saṅghas* and monasteries also. For, in the beginning, when the *saṅgha* was started by Buddha, gifts of land, corn and other household requirements were not coming so freely as when the kings and wealthy people accepted Buddhism as a faith and made rich gifts to the *saṅgha*, built monasteries and equipped them with all the necessities of life. The custom of serving the preceptor, introduced by Buddha, was handed down from generation to generation and we find it being followed even in the time of I-Tsing.

Circumstances, however, were different in Europe. The student paid fees in Europe and so we meet with a strange spectacle of a touting Master visiting a freshman, "anxious to secure the new-comer for his own Hall or lecture room."[2] Instead of a student approaching the Master we find the Master going out in search of students. And the contrast cannot be more striking than when we read that "In the matter of lectures, indeed, a trial was respectfully solicited with all the accommodating obsequiousness of a modern tradesman."[3]

---

1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto V, verse 21 and ff.
2. Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. 606.
3. *Ibid.*

No one need think that the Indian student, as a strict watch was kept over his morals and movements, did not commit any immoral act or violate the discipline in any way. In fact, acts of immorality and transgression of ordinary rules of discipline gave rise to the various regulations in the *Patimokkha*. Buddha prescribed rules from time to time, as acts of omission and commission were brought to his notice. A perusal of *Vinaya Texts* clearly shows this. But if the rules of discipline were rigorous[1] they were not so spartan in their execution, in the sense that the students were not imprisoned nor birched, as the European undergraduates were.[2] Corporal punishment there was none. The highest punishment was expulsion from the monastery for serious acts of immorality.[3] Otherwise, the offence fell under various heads of offences mentioned in the *Vinaya Texts*,[4] and the punishment meted out for them was to practise penance by the modes prescribed by Buddha.

The European student was free from the rigours of discipline in the 12th and 13th centuries. But the colleges that sprang up in the 15th and 16th centuries enforced a very strict discipline upon the students. And "this discipline reacted upon the discipline of the Halls and of the Universities generally."[5] Henceforward, the European student came very near the Indian student in point of discipline. And as regards punishment, in fact, he was more severely dealt with than the Indian.

From this, we pass on to a topic which is intimately connected with the one already discussed, and which in fact comprises the question of discipline and many other kindred questions. This topic is the relation between the teacher and the taught. On this question also, the Hindu and the Buddhist codes of conduct have almost the same outlook. The reason is that the whole idea of Buddhist *saṅgha*, monasticism and so forth was modelled upon the Hindu practice of sending young students to an *āśrama* of *guru* or *ācārya* to serve and to study under him. Buddha, indeed, says in so many words : "I prescribe, of *Bhikkhus*, (that young *Bhikkhus* choose) a preceptor."[1] Continuing, he lays down the relation that is to exist between them. "The preceptor, O Bhikkhus", says Buddha,[2] "ought to consider the pupil as a son ; the pupil ought to consider the preceptor as a father." Such a relationship held out a very noble reward both to the teacher and the taught. For these two united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, would progress, advance, and reach a high stage in doctrine and discipline."[3]

---

[1] Cf. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II. p. 170, who says, "The rules of this convent (Nālandā) are severe, and the conduct of priests pure and unblamable".

[2] Rashdall, o.c., II, p. 609.

[3] Patimokkha, *Saṁghādiśeṣa Dhamma.*

[4] *Ibid., Nissaggiya Pakittiya Dhamma.*

[5] See Rashdall, o.c., II, p. 623.

Thus initiating the subject, Buddha proceeds to mention the actual duties of the pupil and the teacher respectively towards each other. First comes the pupil's duty.

"Let him arise betimes, and having taken off his shoes and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder let him give to the preceptor the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat (for the preceptor). If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug, and offer rice-milk (to the preceptor)." When he has drunk it, let him give water (to the preceptor)"......Getting up early in the morning, the pupil was to help the teacher in all the ceremonies and practices of the first hours of the day. Going for alms was the next item of the day and in this the pupil had to follow the preceptor if the latter so desired.

---

1. *Mahāvagga*, I. 25.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

The pupil had to make all arrangements for the teacher's meals and clean the bowls, etc. Sometimes the pupil had even to sweep the *vihāra*. More important things than the above were the following : "The pupil was also to act as a check, as it were, upon the preceptor, in keeping him steadfast in the faith. If he became discontented, the pupil was to try and appease him or get some one also to do this. If indecision arose in his mind or he had become tainted with false doctrines the pupil was to try and win him back. If the preceptor was guilty of a grave offence, the pupil was to take care that the *saṅgha* sentenced him to discipline and also that he was rehabilitated after the penance was complete, but he was at the same time to get the *saṅgha* to forego, or mitigate, any severe discipline which it might wish to impose upon his preceptor. He was not to accept or give present or wait on any one else, or go out, without the permission of the preceptor. If the preceptor was sick he was to wait upon him and nurse him diligently."[1]

The relation, therefore, between the teacher and the taught was that of a master and a servant, of a superior and an inferior, of a patient and a nurse. The primary relation was that of a teacher and a pupil ; the others were its offshoots but they were of no little importance.

To state, in Buddha's own words, the duties of the preceptor towards the pupil : "The former ought to observe a strict conduct towards the latter. Let the preceptor, of *Bhikkhus*, afford (spiritual) help and furtherance to the pupil by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, by intsruction."[2] Just as the pupil was to be a nurse to the teacher when ill, so also the teacher in his turn was required to wait upon and nurse the pupil, when the latter fell ill.[3]

---

[1] Keay, *Ancient Indian Education* p. 91-92.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, I, 26.

[3] The relation thus is almost identical with that expressed in the opening and closing prayer of many of the *Upaniṣads*. viz. *Saha nāvavatu, Saha nau bhunaktu, Saha viryaṁ karavāvahaītejasvīnavadhītamastu, Mā vidviṣāvahai*. See for instance *Taīttīrīya*, III.

Very few instances of feuds with the teacher are met within Hindu as well as Buddhist works. One specific case mentioned by *Cullavagga*—one of the parts of the *Vinaya Texts*—is that of Devadatta. This disciple of Buddha not only severed his connection with Buddha but went even further. He attempted first himself and when he failed, induced Ajātaśatru—the son and successor of King Bimbisāra of Magadha—to take the life of Buddha. Such cases were, however, very rare. If a digression be permitted, then we may cite the case of Yājñavalkya[1] mentioned in the *purāṇas* where the disciple Yājñavalkya was asked by his teacher, Vaiśampāyana, to give back whatever he had learnt from him on account of some quarrel that took place between them. But this calm submission to the teacher's order, even if it be unjust and autocratic, could be expected only from an Indian student, for he was brought up in an atmosphere, where strict obedience was the rule. Students of the Paris University, we are told,[2] brought an action against the faculty, under which they were studying, before the Parliament, and boldly pleaded for the degree, which was refused to them. Yājñavalkya, in these days, would be perhaps condemned for his deed; obedience may be construed as cowardice. But the times were such that when an appeal against the teacher's order was rejected of and even if some one wanted to appeal, he did not know where to lodge his appeal, for, even though the king was the sole authority, the Brāhmins, who were usually the teachers, were considered superior to and more powerful than the king. So the king dared not lift his head against the teacher.[3]

What was the dress of the Indian student? Did he have any special academical dress, as the students of Bologna and

---

1. *Śrīmad Bhāgvat*, *skandha* XII, *adhyāya* 6.
2. Rashdall, o.c., I, p, 470.
3. Often times we come across stories where a king was punished for going against the wish of the Brahma. See *Srīmad Bhāgavat*, skandha X, adyāya 64.

other European Universities had? And, even if there was any special dress for students, was it compulsory for all? These are some of the questions with which we shall have to deal, while speaking about the life of an Indian University student.

Rules about the dress of a Hindu student, that is, a *Brahmacārin* are given in the *Gautamā Dharma Sūtra*[1] and many other such *Sūtra* works and *Smṛtis*. The form, etc., of the dress was the same, whether the student was a Brāhmin, a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, but the quality of the cloth and other paraphernalia relating to the dress varied according to his caste.

No such distinctions, however, were to be found among the Buddhists. For with them, there was no caste; all people were the same to them. Now, the dress that was prescribed by Buddha for a *Bhikkhu* was also to be the dress of a student. Very little difference was made between a student and a *Bhikkhu*. A student, in fact, as long as he was in a monastery was guided by the same rules and regulations that were prescribed for a *Bhikkhu*. The dress of a student who studied at Buddhist monasteries, where *Bhikkhus* also resided, must be like that of the *Bhikkhus*. We shall, therefore, see what the dress of a *Bhikkhu* was.

The *Bhikkhu* used to put on a robe. As to the cloth that was to be used in the preparation of a robe, we find that Buddha was very liberal in his views. Unlike the authors of *Smṛtis* and *Sūtras* he allowed such rich cloth as silk and wool, besides linen, cotton, and hemp.[2] Gautama and others have laid down that *Brahmacārins* should only use a garment made of hemp, linen, rags, etc.[3] But if Buddha thus appears to be very broad minded when compared with writers on *Smṛtis* and *Sūtras* the condition that he had laid down regarding dress was very strict. The *Bhikkhus* could not go to the market and buy one robe length of cotton or silk or wool, for Buddha[1] had prescribed that a set of robes made entirely from untorn pieces was not to be worn. In order that *Bhikkhus* should refrain from violating this rule he also laid down that a person who would break the rule would be guilty of a *Dukkhati* offence.[2]

---

[1] *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, adhyāya I, sūtra 29.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, VIII, I.

[3] *Gautama*, o.c., I, sūtra 19.

Now, there were three such robes.[3] One was a double waist-cloth, the other a single upper robe, and the third was a single under garment. In a note to this passage the translator tells us how these garments were used. "The waist cloth", says he, "was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under garment was wrapped round the loin and reached below the knee, being fastened round by an end of the cloth which was tucked in there, and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper robe was wrapped round the legs from the loin to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either allowed to fall down in front, or drawn back again over the right shoulder, and allowed to fall down on the back." The colour of the garment was usually yellow.[4]

Now this dress was evidently ecclesiastical or religious, for it was primarily the dress of the priests and *Bhikkhus*. I-Tsing also calls it a religious garment.[5] But we may call it academical as the students also put on the same dress. Whether there was any head-dress for the students, we cannot definitely say. *Vinaya Texts*, at least, are silent on this point, and hence, Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa[1] concludes that "in the early Buddhist Church, monks (and so also the students) were not allowed to wear any head-dress." However, "with the introduction of Mahāyāna", continues the same writer, "in the first century A.D. by Kaniṣka, a great change was effected in the dress of monks, and caps of various shapes were invented."[2] Then he proceeds to describe a picture of Ācārya Diṅnāga, who was a great logician and a distinguished professor of Nālandā. This picture, therefore, gives a good idea about the dress of the Nālandā professors. The picture represents Diṅnāga with a cap having a pointed peak and long lappets. In Tibetan it was called Panchen-shawa-dmar of 'Paṇḍita's red cap', The length of the lappets of the cap was in proportion to the rank of the wearer. If, as Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa says, that a Paṇḍita's cap was perhaps a distinctive badge of the scholars of the Nālandā University,[3] then we can at least infer that the students must have had some kind of head-dress and possibly similar to that worn by Ācārya Diṅnāga.

---

[1] *Mahāvagga*, *o.c.*, VIII, 21, 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, 21, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, 31, 54.

[4] *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 10. Cf. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, pp. 72-74.

[5] I-Tsing. *o.c.*, p. 72.

Respectable persons and monks like Hiuen Tsiang or Dharmasvāmin travelled in a dandy or palanquin. For crossing the river, there was a ferry (which probably started early in the morning so that the traveller had to reach the boarding station in the evening. (*Biography*, p. 97).

Nālandā then, as today, had plenty of mosquitoes. To ward these off the monks used a mosquito net and a fly-whisk. (*Biography*, p. 90)

The records at our disposal are seldom sufficient to enable us to say exactly how many times in a day the students took their meals. This much, however, is certain that three meals, viz. breakfast, lunch, and supper, which our modern students are accustomed to, were quite unknown to the Nālandā student, and in fact to all the students of ancient India. If there was something like our morning tea, which I-Tsing[1] calls morning meal with reference to the teacher, and simpler meals with reference to the pupil, the time for such a meal was student quite different. Unlike the modern student, the ancient could not take tea which consisted of rice-water[2] immediately after cleaning his teeth, for after chewing his toothwood,[3] he had to wait upon his teacher.[4] And this would at least require an hour, after which the teacher partook of his cup of rice-water and then came the turn of the student. The actual time, according to the commentator Kaśyapa, for this meal, was just after sunrise.[5] This rice-water, being more substantial than our tea or coffee, may rightly be called a breakfast.

---

[1] Vidyābhūṣāṇā, *o.c.*, p. 78: *H.I.L.*, p. 271.

[2] *Ib id.*

[3] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *H.I.L.*, p. 272.

The next meal, it appears, was at 12 noon.[6] Even this meal, as I-Tsing says, was sometimes delayed till the afternoon.[7] Rice, butter, milk,[8] fruits, and sweet melons,[9] were usually taken by students for their food. All these provisions were contributed by two hundred householders from about hundred villages.[10] Whether there was any equivalent of our afternoon tea, or even the evening supper, we are not in a position to say, though we think that there must have been some evening meal at about 7 o' clock.

---

[1] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 117.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Toothwood" is even now the most common way of cleaning the teeth in India. The wood is a small, cylindrical, tender branch of either the "Neem" or "Babul" tree.

[4] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 117,

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 117, n.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[7] *Ibid.*,

[8] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 113. Cf. also I-Tsing, *o.c.*, pp. 43-44.

[9] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 44.

[10] Hwui Li, *c.c.*, p. 112.

From the above remarks, it would seem that our Indian student was not quite comfortable in the matter of food, or that he was rather starved. If, however, we turn to the Oxford student of the 12th and 13th centuries, we shall be surprised to find that "so far as regular meals of college are concerned, no provision was usually made for any food before dinner at 10 a.m."[1] Thus the Oxford student had nothing like breakfast nor tea. In this respect his Indian counterpart, as we have seen, was better provided. But though we find no mention of breakefast for the Oxford student, we are definitely told that he had his supper at 5 p.m.[2] On Fast-days, however, even this supper disappeared.[3] It would be evident from this comparative study that the Indian student was, on the whole, much more cared for in the matter of food than the English.

Though the provisions of food at Nālandā were supplied by the householders from the adjacent villages and the students—*Bhikkhus* as well as *Brahmacārins*—as the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang says, were abundantly supplied, and therefore did not need to ask for the four requirements. viz. clothes, food, bedding and medicine,[4] still we learn from I-Tsing that both type of students mentioned above had to pay for their own subsistence.[5] From other sources we learn that the students had to beg for alms every day.[6] We have, thus, three statements as to the way in which the students were provided, each totally contradicting the other. If, as I-Tsing tells us, the student had to pay for his own maintenance, still the question of the standard of living of the student remains. I-Tsing's statement, however, is opposed to all that we know about the Hindu or the Buddhist system of education. Nowhere, in any Hindu work do we come across a single refe-

---

1. Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. 563-654.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 654.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 113.
5. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p, 105-106.
6. *Mahāvagg*, I, 25 and 26.

rence that the student had to pay for his own livelihood. All we that learn from these works is that the students either begged not only for themselves but even for their teachers or, as Hwui Li tells us, they were maintained by rich citizens or kings.[1]

A reference to the question of morality was made when one spoke about the discipline of students. An Indian student who lived in the *āśrama* of a *guru* had hardly any occasion of coming in contact with women. Even on those few occasions he had to act in strict conformity with the rule laid down by religious codes.[2] His chances of going astray, consequently, were very few. Matters were different, however, with students who took education in Buddhist institutions. These were open to nuns, and so side by side with male students, women also lived. Hence the students had greater scope of association with women. Every possible precaution was, therefore, taken to dissuade the students from acts of immorality. Whenever a woman entered a monastery, she was not allowed to proceed to the apartments of either priests or students ; she could only speak to them in a corridor.[3] From an instance cited by I-Tsing it would seem that the students and priests alike were very sensitive on the question of morality. For a teacher who sent to a tenant's wife two *Shang* (*prastha*) of rice gratis, resigned his post, out of sheer shame when this incident was reported to the assembly, even though the assembly declared that he had committed no crime.[4] Though instances such as these would show that the students as well as teachers scarcely violated the code of morality we are inclined to say

---

1. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 113. According to the *Jātakas*, e.g., II, pp. 277-78, however the students had the option before them either to pay the fees or to attend upon the teacher.
2. Gautama, *o.c.*, *adhyāya* II, *sūtras* 24 and 40-41.
3. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 63.
4. *Ibid.*

from other sources that acts of immorally must have been committed at least in the later centuries, that is to say, in the 9th and 10th centuries. Buddhist religion at this time was in a very decadent state.[1] The advent of new cults such as *Mantrayāṇa*, and so many other *yānas* had led their devotees to produce all sorts of trashy literature. Many base and immoral practices were advocated. And we can just imagine what the actual deeds of these persons were when they openly wrote on such subjects. It was only in the 11th century that Atīśa and others restored Buddhism to its pristine position. For, even though they were the exponents of *Mantras* and *Dhāraṇis* they moved in a much higher sphere than their predecessors.[2]

Some cases of immoral acts are mentioned by *Vinaya Texts.*[3] And Buddha had prescribed the maximum punishment for it, viz. excommunication from the *saṅgha.*[4]

Before we pass on to another aspect of student-life, it may be noted, so far as morality is concerned, that none of the Chinese travellers, neither Hiuen Tsiang, nor I-Tsing, refers to any instance of immorality. There is no need to imagine that the tourists painted only the better side of the picture. Even a cursory glance at the index of Takakusu's translation of I-Tsing's records will show to the reader that the tourist is surprisingly frank in his record of what he saw in India. He never misses an opportunity of pointing out the superiority of his own country, which he calls the country of the gods, over India, in its customs, manners, etc. This also points to the fact that he was not a mere admirer or a flatterer of India, even though much of his writing contains nothing but admiration for India. From the absence of any reference by

---

[1] Vasu, *Modern Buddhism*, Introduction, p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[3] *Cullavagga*, I, 13, 1.

[4] Patimokkha, *Aniyata Dhamma*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

these travellers to the morality of the students we may assume that the standard of morality was very high.

Since games and sports are of supreme interest to modern students, the question may be asked whether the students of ancient India had a similar predilection for amusements, and whether they were allowed any.

Writers of Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* and *Smṛtis* would have us believe that the students had no craving for any kind of games, save gambling with dice. Gautama[1], while speaking about the duties of a student, lays down the rule that a student should always keep away from gambling, etc. In one whole chapter devoted to the life of the student this is the only reference he makes to an amusement. Since Gautama does not tell us the games that the student used to play, it follows that the students indulged in no other sport but gambling. Gautama, however, strictly forbids gambling. We are, therefore, compelled to arrive at the conclusion to which Rashdall arrived, in the case of the Mediaeval European Universities, viz. that "a very striking feature of Mediaeval European University life is the almost total absence of authorised or respectable amusements.[2] But as far as ancient India is concerned, there apears to be a total absence of authorized or respectable amusements.

If we turn from the Hindu works to the Buddhist, we find that they give an exhaustive list of games, and though many of them were innocent and absolutely harmless, they were banned.

Even though the work speaks of the games that were prohibited, nevertheless, it gives us very valuable information about the games that existed in India. We read in the *Cullavagga* that besides dancing with ladies, the *Bhikkhus*

---

[1] Gautama, *Dharma sūtra*, adhyāya II, sūtra 23.

[2] Rashdall, o.c., II, p. 669.

"used to amuse themselves at games with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; and with games of dice and trap ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing, trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs, tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having chariot races and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other people's thoughts, and mimicking other people's acts ;—and they used to practise elephant-riding, and horse-riding, carriage driving and swords—manship ; and they used to run to and fro in front of horses and in front of carriages ; and they used to exhibit signs of anger, and to wring their hands, to wrestle, and to box with their fists; and spreading their robes out as on a stage they used to invite dancing girls, saying "Here you may dance sister," and greet her with applause.[1]

Many of the above-mentioned amusements, for instance, like hopping over figures, boxing wrestling and the like it will be admitted, were absolutely innocent. But before we criticize the orthodox attitude of the ancient writers, let us see how many of the amusements we can recognize as similar to modern amusements.

Wrestling and boxing are evidently referred to in the words "they used to wrestle and to box with their fists." Chariot races are nowadays replaced by horse races, and archery by target-shooting, which our undergraduates practise in the U. T. C. Camp. The game of hopping over diagrams is still a favourite sport with Hindus. There are two such games current among them. One is usually played by young boys and girls. In this game, the player has to hop on one leg. The other game is more intelligent and skilful. Grown-up persons and young children alike play this

---

[1] *Cullavagga*. I, 13, 2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

game. Here the play mainly consists in crossing three or four squares without being caught by players on the opposite side. In the vernacular this is called 'Atā-Patā' or kabadi. Since the game is spoken of in connexion with grown-up persons, probably it is the latter game that is referred to and not the former, which is only resorted to by young children.

But of greater importance than the identification of various amusements are expressions such as "Mimicking other people's acts." "Exhibiting signs of anger," and the last lines which speak of dancing. In these, perhaps, there is an allusion to drama. And if it can be proved that the art of dramatic had developed early as the 5th century B.C., much new light can be thrown on the alleged Greek influence on the Indian drama. An exhaustive and critical study of all Buddhist works, prior to the invasion of Alexander the Great with whom many actors and others are believed to have come to India and introduced the Greek drama—especially its peculiar features for instance, the *Yavanikā*—would bring the vexed problem nearer solution. There is no doubt that the games spoken of, including the drama, belong to the pre-Alexander invasion, and to the Buddha and the Post-Buddha period. For even allowing a space of a hundred years to elapse in which the *Vinaya Texts* came to be collected, and so to say, codified, to meet the argument that the games referred to may not really have existed in the time of Buddha, but may have reference to events that happened in the year that followed the death of Buddha, even then, the original theory remains unaffected. And even if references to the games of the Buddha-age be disproved, they will and must refer to the interval between the death of Buddha and the Greek invasion, during which period the various *Vinaya-Texts* came to be codified.

One is really surprised at the attitude of the authors of these codes. Did they think that the students should not see the lighter side of life, however innocent? But if the attitude of those who moulded the character and life of the students appears surprising, then that of the students is still more so. With all due regard for their sense of duty, for obedience to their teachers and parents, to all their elders, it must be said that in spite of these commendable virtues, their ready obedience showed sometimes their servility of nature. How else could they help to tell their teachers and all other superiors that they must have some authorised amusements? For they did indulge in amusements; they were not puritans. And gambling, which even nowadays is considered a vice, was their favourite pastime. This is evident from the fact that we meet with universal condemnation of gambling in both Hindu and Buddhist works. The condemnation itself suggests that dice-playing must have been very popular. And this suggéstion is based on the oft-repeated arguments of the Hindu philosophers that there could be no negation of a thing which did not exist.[1] Hence gambling must have been a very popular pastime, otherwise it could not be spoken ill of by the writers who in order to check the every growing vice seemed to have taken up the cudgels against it and determined to make a concerted attack on it. In spite of all the efforts of these well-wishers of the students, gambling had made its way into the prencincts of the Nālandā Univerisity. This is conclusively proved from the find of a gaming die by the excavators at Nālandā. The comments of Page[2] are worth quoting. "Another curious find was a gaming die, which seems to suggest that the Buddhist brethren here were not altogether above the amusements of less austere humanity." He further adds: "Similar gaming dice had previously been recovered in Monasteries No. I and IA as well as on many other Buddhist sites."

The above evidence establishes beyond doubt that the students of Nālandā must have been addicted to gambling.

---

[1] Cf. Śaṅkara, *Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya, adhyāya* II, *sūtra* 18.

[2] *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report*, 1923-24, p. 74.

And if they played at dice, why should they not indulge in games—all those that are mentioned by *Cullavagga*—which are obviously more innocent, and really healthy? The more we think of this question of games, the more are we inclined to think that the games which tempted the *Bhikkhus* of Buddha, the *Bhikkhus* who had renounced the world, must have had a greater temptation for the students of Nālandā. For these students were not *sanyāsis*; many of them had a stake in the world, cherished high ambitions, and lived in a crowd where the temptations are many, and easily could fall a prey to them. Again if the *Bhikkhus* of Buddha could not resist the temptations, how could the students, who in spite of the able and distinguished abbots as Dharmapāla, Atīṣa and others, were without such a spiritual head as Buddha? Human nature being the same in all ages, it would not be proper to say that the students in ancient India were puritans. And, if we see the students of our time so very fond of all kind of sports, we cannot believe the students of ancient India to have been otherwise.[1]

The reader will wonder why, instead of speaking of the number of students at Nālandā University, we speak of the numbers in various Universities. The reasons for so doing are mainly two: The first reason is in order to review briefly the statements made by writers at different periods about educational institutions which varied in point of time and character. The second reason is closely allied to the first. The review, as we have above contemplated, will enable us to know the comparative strength of the institutions, whereas the relative idea will enable us to determine the exact position of the Nālandā University, among other Universities.

---

1. In this connexion Tagore (*My Reminiscence*, p. 72) has very rightly said, "The book of Boy Nature is even older and also more authentic."

Starting as the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, we meet with several references to the famous teachers, to whom students flocked for knowledge from all quarters. Many of these teachers have been called "*Kulapatis*". The word "*Kulapati*" is interpreted to signify the head of a number of students, even as many as 10,000.[1] But this, as we said, is only an interpretation. This is no documentary evidence to show that there really existed a number as large as 10,000.

Takṣaśilā, as an educational centre, has been made famous by the *Jātaka* stories and other Buddhist works. One of them tells us that a student, who proceeded to Takṣaśilā to learn *Śilpa*, had five hundred class-mates.[2]

But we treat on much surer ground, when we read the records of the Chinese travellers. Fa-Hien speaks of two monasteries at Pātaliputra—modern Patna—where six to seven hundred monks reside. Besides Buddhist monks, there were students also who had repaired thither in search of truth.[3] These monks were probably lay devotees, but versed in Buddhist as well as other contemporary philosophies. If, there were so many learned monks the number of students who approached them must be evidently much larger. Even a most moderate estimate would put them at one thousand.

Next, in point of time, is Hiuen Tsiang. Before recording his impressions about Nālandā, he refers to another monastery, Tiladaka. Scholars are not unanimous as to the exact location of this monastery. According to Cunningham, it is in modern Tillara, while Fergusson locates it in the Barabara hills.[4] It was a large and famous establishment

---

1. Cf. the following verse, cited, evidently, from a *Smṛti* : *Munināṁ daśasāhasram yenna dānāni posanāt, adhyāpayati iparsih asu kulapatih smṛtah.*
2. *Dharmmapadaṭṭhakathā*. Pali Text Society Edition, I, p. 250.
3. Fa-Hien, o.c., pp. 78-79.
4. See Watters, *Yuan Chwan* II, p. 107.

flourishing in the 7th century, about 20 miles to the west of Nālandā.[1] Here 1000 priests carried on a study in Mahāyāna, and learned men from different cities and scholars from distant countries flocked together in crowds, and having reached so far stayed in the *Saṅghārāma.*[2] The number of students was, when there were about 1000 priests, more than 2000. We can safely put it down to 1500 to 2000.

Hiuen Tsiang does not tell us about actual number of students at Nālandā. His account, in this respect, is very vague. Says he: "The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent."[3] His biographer. Shaman Hwui Li, hower, sheds more light on this question. He writes, "The *Saṅghārāmas* of India are counted by myriads, but this one is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (*residing therein*) always reach the number of 10,000." That all these occupants were students is clear from the lines that follow. Continuing he says: "All who study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects, and not these only, but even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetuvidyā*, *Śabdavidyā*, the *Chiktsāvidyā*, the works on Magic (*Atharvaveda*), *Sāṁkhya.* In addition to these they thoroughly investigate the 'miscellaneous' works."[4]

Assuming that 10,000 is an exaggeration, because the ancient chronicler was generally prone to be grandiloquent, specially where figures were concerned, and took delight in good round numbers, still taking into consideration other circumstances—especially the fame of Nālandā as a knowledge-resort—we can say that the number of students was

---

1. *Ibid.*
2. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 102-103.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
4. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 112.

approximately 3000 to 5000. Moreover, this estimate comes very near the number mentioned by I-Tsing. "The number of priests in the Nālandā monastery" writes I-Tsing, "refers both to students and priests, who were their professors, even then the number is pretty large; if however, he refers to students only, then as we have argued while speaking of other Universities, the number of students would be more than 3000. This number we have already deduced from Hiuen Tsiang's records.

We might conclude, therefore, that the number of students at Nālandā were probably about 4000.

Of three other Universities—Vikramaśilā, Odantapuri, and Jagaddala—we have no records as to the number of students studying therein. Vikramaśilā, we know from Tārānātha and other sources, flourished in the 8th century A.D., and rivalled with Nālandā. From this, we may assume that, like Nālandā, it was also a great University; and that it had also a large number of students.

Nālandā, it will be evident, ranks first among other earlier and later Universities, so far as numbers are concerned.

Among other reasons why Nālandā, beats other similar institutions in the number of students stying on it, two stand out most conspicuously Nālandā, at first, was the one institution which, though primarily Buddhist, welcomed students of other faiths as well. In this respect, Nālandā, may be compared with a great many Jesuit Colleges in India, which, though founded originally only for the Christians, threw open their doors to non-Christians also. The Jesuit College in Bombay has the largest number of students among all the colleges in Bombay.

The second reason is that, unlike Takṣaśilā and other Universities which were famed for their specialisation in medicine and other sciences, Nālandā imparted knowledge in all the heterogeneous arts and sciences, philosophies and religions.[1] If Buddhism was specially attended to, Vedāntism, etc. was not neglected. Likewise, a place was founded for *Cikitsāvidyā* (the science of medicine) in the curriculum. Thus, at Nālandā a student could learn whatever he wanted to learn. Whereas, in other institutions, when a student was dissatisfied with his subject, he had either to leave it, as well as the institution or continue the study of it against his will, Nālandā gave him an opportunity to change the subject by remaining at the same place. An institution, which looked after the needs of all the students was evidently popular, and it is therefore not surprising if that Nālandā was the most popular among all the other sister institutions.

India in ancient times presents us such a variety of students, totally different from each other not only in age but even in social status and in their attitude towards life, that is hazardous to lay down one general definition of their aims and prospects. Students like Satyakāma Jābalā, fatherless and without a *gotra*, realized *Brahma*, and in their turn, became teachers of others, like Upakośala Kamalayana,[2] while kings like Ajātaśatru[3] and Aśvapati Kaikeya[4] instructed such famous sages as Gārgya Bālākī and others. More surprising still is the story that Indra resided for no less than 100 years with Brahma to know the nature of the *Ātman*.[5] Statements such as these at once bewilder us. We are not a loss to know what the actual aim or the life of an average, ordinary student was.

Nevertheless, before we discuss the Nālandā-students and their aims and prospects let us have some idea of the aims of the students referred to above, that is to say, let us begin with the Upaniṣadic times.

---

[1] See Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 112.

[2] See *Chāndogya*, IV, 4.

[3] See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, II, 1.

[4] See *Chāndogya*, V, 11, 24.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII, 7, 2 and 11, 3.

The one aim of the student who repaired to the *guru*, whoever he may be—a kṣatriya king or a Brāhmaṇa forest-recluse or a non-Dvija philosopher—was to acquire knowledge. But this knowledge as *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* tells us,[1] was of two kinds, *Para* (higher) and *Apara* (lower, inferior); the knowledge of the four Vedas—*Ṛg*, *Yajur*, *Sāma* and *Atharva*—*Vedāṅgas*, *Śikṣā*, *Nirukta* and so forth was classed as Inferior.[2] The realization of *Brahma* or *Akṣara*,[3] of the Immortal Self was the true knowledge. And this was the ideal that was put by the parent before his son and by the teacher before a prospective student.[4]

What was it—whether the primitive condition of life, when plain living and high thinking was the rule, or the pessimistic outlook on life which saw danger everywhere and in all things except in the realization of *Brahma*,[5] that made the student pitch his ideal so high that it almost became transcendental, we cannot say.

Coming to times less remote than the Vedic and Upaniṣadic, to the centuries when *Smṛtis* and *Dharma Sūtras* were composed, and when various philosophical systems were propounded, we notice that the conception of higher knowledge underwent a partial modification. Modification in the sense that doubts were raised[6] whether there was a soul, whether it was immortal, whether the realization of soul was secondary and the problem of escaping from the chain of worldly miseries all-important. And in order to uphold one philo-

---

1. I, verse 4 and 5; also *Śvetāśvatara*, V, I.
2. Cf. Nārada to Sanatkumāra in *Chāndogya*, VII, 3.
3. *Śvetāśvatara*, V, 1; also *Muṇḍaka*, I, 5.
4. Cf. for instance Śvetaketu's case, *Chāndogya*, VI, and VII.
5. Cf. *Taittirīya*, II, 9, the expression: *ānandam brahmaṇo vidyānna bibheti kadācana*.
6. I do not mean that doubts were not raised, say, in the Upaniṣadic or Vedic times, because even so far back as the *Ṛgveda* we meet with questions of like nature. See, for instance *Puruṣa Sūkta*, Maṇḍala 10.

sophy and to destroy the other, new ways and means were devised. The educational history of this period reveals nothing but a quest of men in search of means, by which they sought to wreck the doctrine of the heretic, as each one called his opponent. Nevertheless, the aim of acquiring knowledge in order to realize the Unknown, the Unmanifest, or the state of *Nirvāṇa* was still cherished. This quest of the Buddhist student for *Nirvāṇa*, etc. or of the non-Buddhist student for the Unknown may be compared with the desire of the Upaniṣadic student to know Brahma and may be classed as Higher Knowledge.

It was with this aim that the students of Nālandā as well as other non-Buddhist students pursued their studies. How many realized their ideals or how many thought that they had realized them, we do not know. But the ideal, gradually, though not deliberately shifted, was lost sight of and the means and its emoluments were given greater prominence.

Before we go on to the discussion of the emoluments, we have to qualify our preceding statement in two ways. First, it only applies to those students, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, whose main goal was the realization of the ideal. Secondly, in the case of the majority of non-Buddhist students, who studied the *Vedas*, etc., for a particular number of years—twenty-four or so—the question of emoluments did not arise. And of the many factors that were responsible for so simplifying the problem of livelihood, the caste-system was perhaps one. Vocations for Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were almost predetermined.[1] Consequently, even though there was much in common in the education of these students with the Buddhists, paths for their future life were already chalked out for them when they finished their education and joined, once more, worldly life.

---

[1] See *Manusmṛti*, *adhyāya* I, verses 88-91. *S.B.E.*, XXV. Cf. also *Śrimad Bhagvad Gītā*, *adhyāya* 18, verses 41 to 45.

Besides the social classification, the custom that a son should follow his father's profession was another factor which enabled the non-Buddhist student to pursue his studies with no utilitarian purpose.

Education, it would appear, had very little to do in securing professions for these students. To this extent the student in those days can be said to pursue knowledge for its own sake.

In Buddhism and Buddhist institutions there was no room for the Hindu social classification. Instead of the threefold or four-fold division of humanity into various compartments, we find that the whole of it was reduced to a harmonious unity, without any distinction of caste and creed. The result was that the aim of all those students who had become *Bhikkhus* (others may, afterwards, as I-Tsing says,[1] revert to the wordly-life, and if they had not embraced Buddhism, to their respective castes and also their professions) was to achieve distinction in the Buddhist order. Offices such as that of a *Thera*, that is to say, the Head of *Bhikkhus* in the *saṅgha*, or when the Buddhist monasteries were transformed into Houses of Learning, the posts such as that of a professor, or Door-Keepers of the University, who were eminent men,[2] or the abbot of the University, were greatly prized. As I-Tsing puts it "Those white robbed (laymen) who come to the residence of a priest and read chiefly Buddhist Scriptures with the intention of becoming one day tonsured and black-robbed, are called 'children (*mānava*)'.[3] "To the great mass of students" says Rashdall, with reference to European students, "the University was simply the door to the Church : and the door to the Church, at that time meant the door to professional life."[4] These words, though true to a great extent, so far as the Buddhist students are concerned, need an explanation. Both the Indian and the European students looked to the Church to give them a profession, yet the profession of each vitally and materially differed from that of the other. The Buddhist *Bhikkhu*, who became, say, the head of the *saṅgha* or the abbot of the University in later times, derived no material gain. Honour and power were the only emoluments of his services, and of his high office. Unlike the European priest he was not given any pay or money in any form or shape. He dedicated himself to the cause of humanity, and to do this work, the only thing the *saṅgha* did was to provide him with all the necessities of life, suitable to his high post.[1]

---

[1] Cf. I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 106.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 171.

[3] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 105.

[4] Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. 696.

The case of students who had not given themselves up to the service of humanity, but who still resorted to Buddhist centres of learning to acquire knowledge, and through it, sought the profession they wished for, was different. Those who wanted to become government servants, not petty clerks, seeking after higher ministerial posts in the Government, these had received a degree in famous Universities like Nālandā and Valabhī and were assured of the excellence of their opinion by wise men,"[2] proceeded to the king's court to try the sharpness of their wit.[3] And the king followed a very strange and healthy procedure, a procedure which reminds us of the parliamentary elections in countries like England. Like the party seeking power and making all sorts of promises to the electorate, these freshers from the Universities, seeking to be appointed in the practical government, presented their schemes and showed their political talent to the king and the assembly.[4]

Others who did not want to serve to government but still expected a reward for their wonderful ability "made their debut in the House of Debate." "They refuted the heretic doctrines of their opponents who became tongue-tied and acknowledged themselves undone."[1] I-Tsing tells us that these eminent debaters received grants of land ; while others were advanced to a high rank and, as of further reward, their names were written on their lofty gates.[2] To what the word 'their' refers is not clear. Takakusu admits that his rendering is only conjectural. We can, however, give our conjecture as to what 'their' stands for. Probably, 'their' refers to the Universities. For just as learned men were appointed as Door-keepers in the Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, it is also possible that names of distinguished persons were written on the gates of the Universities. Another possibility is that 'their' stands for the 'House of Debate'. But here we are faced with a grammatical difficulty, because 'their' being plural cannot stand for the 'House of Debate'. Besides, we have not heard of any such custom, according to which. names of debaters, who distinguished themselves in the controversy were affixed to the gates of the 'House', though there is nothing strange in it as it would be a very good encouragement to the prospective debaters. We may, therefore, accept the former hypothesis that "their" stands for the Universities.

---

[1] See Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 106 ; also I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. 30.

[2] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p 177.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

I-Tsing dismisses the subject with the words "after this, they can follow whatever occupation they like."[3] This remark, perhaps, refers to those students who were not given some substantial reward, such as grants of land but mere titles 'Paṇdita' etc. akin to our modern B.A. and M.A. degrees which would not be immediately of any material value. Such students had to hunt for jobs. But then the task of securing a job was not so difficult as it is now. A Paṇdita would easily get a post of a private tutor to a prince or the son of a noble. While for those who were not Buddhists but had merely taken advantage of Buddhist institutions, which enabled them to get the best education, such posts as the caste-system and the hereditary professions offered, were open.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*., p. 178.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

From the aforesaid remarks it would be clear that the ancient student was much better off than the modern, as far as job-hunting was concerned. And this for two reasons mainly. Firstly, the struggle for existence then was not so acute and severe as it is now. Secondly, the standard of living was much lower than at present, which also materially contributed to the happiness of the student.

The consideration of the aims and prospects of the students suggests another question. What was the value of the education which the Universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and others in Central India and Valabhī on the Western coast, imparted? This question is beset with great many difficulties. We do not know whether we should consider the aim of the students and its realization, or whether the means adopted for reaching the goal, or the various subjects and their intrinsic value.

The aim of the student, as we have seen in the preceding pages, was not, in the least, utilitarian. It was ideal or transcedental rather than practical. But it may be asked how many attained their ideal and in how many cases, the ideal was lost sight of and more and more attention was concentrated on the means and their immediate results, e.g., success in philosophical and religious discussions, which really were meant to lead to true knowledge.

The main point of this query, namely, the utility of discussions, may be looked at from different points of view.

Leaving aside the question as to how many attained their ideal as personal, depending on each individual's experience, the discussions and debates may appear as a constant and continual search after truth. They may be thought of as an index of the nation's mind, as religious and philosophical and averse to worldly pleasures. One who thinks in this strain would interpret the discussions as encouraging spiritualism. From a practical point of view, these very discussions will be regarded as those which "trained intellect, encouraged habits of laborious subtlety, heroic industry and intense application."

To the critic, however, who bases his opinion on Hiuen Tsiang's statement, namely, that "from morning till evening they (the students of Nālandā) engage in discussions,"[1] or on that of I-Tsing that "there (in Nālandā and Valabhī) the eminent and the accomplished assemble in crowds and discuss possible and impossible doctrines"[2] and to the critic who knows well the result of these discussions, the following demerits may appear: "That the frequent debates were hardly in consonance with the facts of actual life; that very often, in these discussions, the ideal or desire for truth, receded into the background; and that, on the contrary, it made the student dogmatic and disputatious. Thus, an education of this type he may characterise Rashdall does,[3] while pointing out the defects of the Mediaeval European educational system, "as a melancholy record of misdirected energy, stupid routine, and narrow one-sidedness."

Likewise, as regards the subjects, Logic, Philosophy, and Theology, if we do not keep in mind the observation that "the value of education is largely, independent of the subjects taught,"[4] but consider them together as interdependent, then the merits as well as the defects of the subjects taught can be pointed out. Logic, Philosophy, and Theology seem to occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of the student. Hence, the University turned out or created a class of priests, philosophers and debaters, while one special branch of Theology, namely Tantrism, on account of its peculiar requirements, created a type of artist who gave us the Pāla Art, and also encouraged the development of provincial vernaculars.

---

[1] *o.c.*, II, p. 170.

[2] *o.c.*, p. 177.

[3] Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. 705.

[4] *Ibid.*

But, from another point of view Tantrism would seem to be the cause of superstition, and one that encouraged belief in the number of gods and goddesses. Moreover, it will be regarded as the cause of the cultural and moral enervation of Buddhism and its learning.[1] Barring those (whose number we cannot give, but must not be large) who realized Mahāsukha or Bodhichitta by practices advocates by Tantrayāna, Kālachakrayāna and Sahajayāna, was anything of lasting value left on the intelligentsia and the masses of Bengal and Bihar it may be asked ? Loking to the later history of these parts of India it may be said that very little of permanent value was left.

Yet another item of the education which till now has escaped our attention is the method of teaching. As we have already seen, it was primarily tutorial. Consequently, the personality of the teacher wielded a great influence in building up the character and in developing the mental outlook of the student. This phase of Nālandā-education does credit to the University. For, what is our ideal to-day, namely, the reduction of big classes to small ones, and individual attention to each student ; and all this was actually achieved at Nālandā. Daily attendance on the teacher may be objected to on the ground that it took much of the student's time and that it curbed his independence. Looking from another point of view, the daily attendance can be looked upon as a practical training for life, because it cultivated the spirit of service and humility, virtues which should be imbibed by all students.

---

[1] See Rajendralal Mitra and Benoytosh Bhattacharyya on this point in the *I.H.Q.* pp. 741-43.

Nālandā education then had two sides, good and bad, and what system on this earth is free from blemishes? Considering the times in which the University flourished, when the greater portion of the world was still in intellectual darkness, when even in those countries, where the torch of knowledge was long-lit. discussions, debates, etc., were the outstanding characteristics, when the average man cared little for what took place around him, the work that Nālandā did, in creating an intellectual enthusiasm which magnetized the students of far and distant countries, such as Java, Sumatra, China, Japan and made them undertake a weary and ardous journey to India to drink at her fountain of knowledge—that work with all its defects and weaknesses must be admitted to be really praiseworthy.

Chapter VIII

Contemporary Universities

During the long period in which the Nālandā University flourished, many new Universities had arisen in different parts of India. A University, whose rise was perhaps coincident with that of Nālandā, and whose fame also was not very inferior to it, was that of Valabhī. In every respect, it rivalled Nālandā. Like the Imperial Guptas, who built Nālandā, the first building (convent) of the University was built by Duddā, the daughter of the sister of Dhruva 1.[1] And even after its foundation, the University continued to enjoy the patronage of the rulers of Valabhī, in the shape of grants of villages for its maintenance, and buildings for its students. Again it was at Valabhī that the famous monastery called Śrī Bappapāda was founded by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramatī.[2] In a previous chapter we have seen that this Sthiramatī had composed many treatises and was perhaps a pandit of Nālandā. Both the Chinese travellers found Valabhī in a flourishing condition. Hiuen Tsiang says, "There are some hundred *saṅghārāmas*, with about 6000 priests,"[3] while, according to I-Tsing, Valabhī was as great and famous as Nālandā. for, there were only two Universities to which the students in I-Tsing's time generally resorted to acquire the stamp of culture and refinement, after finishing their ordinary higher education.

---

[1] A Grant of King Guhasena of Valabhī, *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 174.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 9.

[3] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 266.

Probably the same knowledge that was expected from a student who wanted to join the Nālandā University was expected from one joining Valabhī. I-Tsing compares Nālandā and Valabhī to Chinma, Shih-chu, Lungmen, and Chiue-li, all famous educational centres of China. Nālandā and Valabhī were, as it were, two store-houses of knowledge and wisdom. These were available to the persons who visited these Universities. but not without struggle, which was often very severe. They had to show their skill in refuting doctrines, possible and impossible and many perhaps had to go away with down-cast heads, with rankling in their ears with intellectual humiliation. But those who emerged successful from this strife of words, became famous for their wisdom.[1]

Valabhī, it appears, was to be a real rival of Nālandā, Geographically, if Nālandā was situated in Central India, Valabhī was situated far away on the Western Coast. Culturally, Valabhī took pride in and championed the cause of Hīnayāna,[2] which Nālandā, with its leanings towards Mahāyāna, regarded its prime duty to defeat and destroy.[3]

We have nothing special to say of the studies of Valabhī, save that, being a University devoted to the cause of Hīnayāna, Hīnayāna works more than towards those of other religions.

---

1. I-Tsing, o.c., p. 177.
2. It is not on the strength of Hiuen Tsiang's statement only who says, "Most of the priests study the Little Vehicle", that we call it a Hīnayānist University. The fact that not a single image of Buddha was found in the excavations carried out by Rev. Fr. Heras (In Oct. 1930) testifies that it must be a University of Hīnayānists who were not worshippers of Buddha like the Mahāyānists.
3. Hwui Li, o.c., pp. 159-160.

With the exception of Sthiramatī and Guṇamatī, we have no knowledge of other pandits of Valabhī.

From Valabhī we pass on to another great University, namely, Vikramaśīlā. Unlike Valabhī, this University was in every sense a sister University of Nālandā. As we shall see later on, it also arose in Magadha, and that too very near Nālandā. Moreover, it championed Mahāyāna, and propagated the study of Tantrism.

The following account traces the rise of the University : Ācārya Kampala, a learned professor of the school of Buddhist *Tantras* at Śrī Nālandā, who had obtained the *Siddhi* or perfection in the Mahāmudrā mysticism, was once struck with the features of a bluff, rocky hillock which stood on the bank of the Ganges. Observing its peculiar fitness for the site of a *vihāra* he remarked that under royal auspices it could be turned into a great place for the use of the *saṅgha*. Through sheer foresight, he also knew that at one time there on that hill a great *vihāra* would be built.

It is said that in course of time, Kampala was born as Dharmapāla (Devapāla), the renowned King of Magadha. He built the monastery of Vikramaśīlā on that hill. The *Vihāra* became known by four names in the four quarters. In Tibet it was famed under the name of Vikramaśilā. Owing, according to some writers, to the high moral character of its monks, and also because of its being the site, where a certain Yakṣa or genius of the name Vikrama was suppressed, it was called Vikramaśīlā.[1]

Stripped of its legendary garb, one thing clearly emerges from the tradition that the University was founded by King Dharmapāla. To us it appears that in order to satisfy the desire for antiquity, for mysticism, for something supernatural the true historical fact was given a supernatural appearance.

---

1. S.C. Das, *Indian Pandits in Tibet*, J.B.T.S., I, pp. 10.11.

Scholars are not unanimous as to the identification of the site of the University. Cunningham's suggestion[1] that the modern village Silas near Baragaon is the site of the University is rejected by Samaddar, He also disagrees with the view of Vidhyābhūṣaṇa, who identified it with Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district. "The best identification," says Samaddar,[2] "is that by Nundo Lal De[3] who identifies it with Patharaghata, a steep hill overhanging the Ganges. The hill is about six miles to the north of Colgong, twenty-four miles to the east of Bhagalpur and twenty-eight miles to the east of Champanagar." The identification fulfils the description of the Tibetan accounts of the place. So this is generally accepted as the correct identfication of the Vikramaśilā University. Banerji-Sastri rejects the identification of De. He says that but for the fact that the hill is mentioned in Tibetan accounts, the place in no other way answers the description of the Tibetans. He suggests Keur—a place three miles south-east from Hulasganj and just behind the south-west corner of Hilsa police-station—as plausible and proper site of Vikramaśilā. For, he says, "Keur is in direct line with Nālandā and Odantapuri and within 15 miles of Nālandā, and while its close similarity with Nālandā remains, it amply satisfies every known detail of Vikramaśilā."[4]

Like Nālandā, it grew up under the royal patronage. Dharmapāl furnished it with four establishments, each consisting of 27 monks, belonging to the four principal sects. He also endowed it with rich grants, fixing regular allowances for the maintenance of priests and students. Provision was also made for temporary students.[5] Other Pāla Kings, besides Dharmapāla, must have endowed the University with various gifts. Nayapāla, we know for certain, showed a keen interest

---

1. *A.S.R.*, VIII, p. 75.
2. *Glories of Magadha*, p. 157.
3. *J.B.S.B.*, V., p. 157.
4. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XV, p. 276.
5. See S.C. Das, Indian Pandits in Tibet, *J.P.T.S.*, pp. 1.10.

in the administration of the University, for Dīpāṁkara Śrījñāna or Atīsa accepted the post of High Priest at Vikramaśilā during his reign.[1]

So far as the construction of the buildings and their decorations are concerned, we have meagre but very interesting accounts.

There was a central hall called the House of Science. It had six gates which opened on its six colleges. And the dimension of each college (i.e. *saṅghārāma*) could be gauged from the fact that each college could contain one hundred and eight professors.

And these various buildings were encircled by a wall, which was not merely a construction of brick and mortar, but a source of inspiration to all the prospective students. For on its front wall, on the right of the principal entrance, was painted the likeness of Nāgārjuna, once the head of the University, and on the left, the portrait of Atīśa himself who figured at Vikramaśila.[2]

In point of studies, that is, so for as the subjects taught are concerned, Vikramaśilā perhaps imparted education in the same subjects such as Theology, Philosophy, Logic, etc. as was done at Nālandā. But one subject that stands out more prominently than all others was *Tantra*. It was this that appealed to the students most, and hence we find numerous books written on it by the pandits of Vikramaśilā.

As at Nālandā, so at Vikramaśilā, the srudents who wanted to join the University had to submit to a severe test before the Gate-Keepers, who were learned pandits. But. at Vikramaśilā there were six gates and consequently six eminent pandits presided over them. Ratnavajra, Ācārya Jetāri, Ratnakīrti, were some of the most distinguished of them. But the pandit who excelled all his compeers, whose name became famous all over India, from Ceylon to Tibet was Dipāṁkara Śrījñāna, more popularly known As Atīśa.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, *Life of Atīśa, Dīpāṁkara jŚrīñāna*, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-53.
Note ; It is doubtful who the king actually was, whether Mahipāla or Nayapāla. For at another place, *Ibid.*, p. 10, we are told that "when Atīśa was appointed High Priest by King Mahipāla..." etc.

[2] S.C. Das, *o.c.*, p. 11 ; also Samaddar, *o.c.*, pp. 150-151.

Dīpāṁkara was born in A.D. 930, in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramanipur in Bangāla, that is northern Bengal, a country lying to the east of Vajrasama (Gaya). Under the sage of Jetāri, he studied the five minor sciences, and thereby paved his way to the study of philosophy and religion. He acquired proficiency, in the three *piṭakas* of the four classes of Hīnayāna, in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy in the *piṭakas* of Mahāyāna doctrine, in the high metaphysics of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools and in the four classes of *Tantras*. Having a cquired the reputation of being a great pandit, in the *Śāstras* of the *Tīrthakas*, which he studied till his twenty-fifth year, he defeated a learned Brāhmin in Logic. From Rāhula Gupta he mastered the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. At the age of thirty-one, he was ordained in the highest order of *Bhikṣus* and was given the vows of Bodhisattva .by *Dharma-Rakṣita.*

He went to Suvarṇadvīpa. stayed there for 12 years and learnt the pure teachings of Buddha from the High Priest. On his return to Magadha, he was unanimously declared the chief by the Buddhist and awarded the title of Dharmapāla or the hierarchy of Magadha. Nayapāla offered him the post of the High Priest of Vikramaśilā, which he accepted.

Atīśa took prominent part in the treaty which Nayapāla made with King Karuya.

He was repeatedly invited to Tibet, by King Lha Lama of Tibet who wanted to purify the debased and corrupt Tibetan Buddhism. Even though he was offered plenty of gold, twice he declined to go. With great persuasion of Sthāvira

Ratnākara, and entreaties of the Tibetan ambassador in the year 1038 A.D., he visited Tibet. He wrote many books on Mahāyāna, delivered doctrine. Atīśa died at Nethang near Lhasa, at the age of seventy-three, in the year 1053 A.D. He is remembered with deep veneration 'all over high Asia' or wherever the Buddhism of Tibet prevails.[1]

We have a most vivid and interesting description of Atīśa by the Tibetan envoy who came to India to take Atīśa to Tibet. He is describing a meeting of the monks and students, a "convocation", as Samaddar has called it. "When all the rows of seats were filled up", says the awestruck visitor, "there came Lord Atīśa, the venerable of Venerables, in all his glory, at whose sight, the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans, all looked at him and took him for a countryman of their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression on his face, which acted as a magic spell upon those who beheld him"[2]

Any doubts that may be entertained about the historicity of Atīśa and his famous visit to Tibet, are now dispelled by the historical documents that have been obtained from Tibet by Mr. Francke. Among the documents are two inscriptions discovered in the Tabo monastery of Sipti. One of the inscriptions speaks of King Byang-chub-'od of Guge, the very ruler who invited Atīśa to Tibet. "The principal hall of the Tabo monastery" says the author of the article, "seems to have remained almost unchanged since the days of Atīśa......."[3] But the thing most important for our purpose is that the inscription contains names of two most important

---

1. Das. *J.AS.B.*, 1. Part I, 1891, pp. 46-53.
2. Das, *J.A.S.B.*, I, Part I, 1891, pp. 46-53.
3. Francke, *Historical Documents from the Borders of Tibet* *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 108.

lamas of the period, viz. Rinchen bzang-po and Atīśa, the latter being called Phul-byung in Tibetan. "The inscription further says that Rinchen bzang-po was made a 'light of wisdom' through the agency of Atīśa. "This is", says the author, "apparently a reference to the controversy between the two lamas which ended with Rinchen bzang-po acknowledging Atīśa's superiority."[1]

From the subjects which Atīśa studied, it appears that even philosophies, such as Vaiśeṣika, were still taught, even though *Tantra* was the outstanding subject of the time. Atīśa, in fact, besides Tantrism, had mastered all the subject which were found in the Nālandā curriculum.

Despite his versatality in all branches of knowledge, Atīśa wrote by far the greater number of books of *Tantra*. A mere perusal of their names makes interesting reading. They reveal the fact that by the time of Atīśa, that is to say, 1000 A.D., Buddhists had incorporated almost all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and that Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc. were not the only gods and goddesses that were worshipped.[2] Such works are :

1. *Ārya-hayagriva-sādhana-nāma.*
2. *Śrī Mahākāla bali-nāma.*
3. *Kṛṣṇa-yamārī sādhana-nāma.*

There is one work on Mādhyamika philosophy, that is also attributed to Atīśa, viz. *Mādhyamikāpadeśa nāma.*[3]

Though the accounts about Vikramaśilā are very few, still they acquaint us with the diverse aspects of the University.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Perhaps it is not correct to say that the Buddhist incorporated the gods of the Hindu pantheon. For there are scholars who hold that the Buddhists evolved their pantheon independently of any extraneous influence.

[3] Bose, *o.c.*, pp. 73-79.

while narrating the life of Atīśa, we referred to the "convocation." The undermentioned facts give us a glimpse of the administration of the University, and of an aspect of the life of the students.

Besides the six Gate-keepers, the professorial staff consisted of a hundred and eight professors. Like the senate or the academic council of our modern Universities, there was a Board of eminent professors, whose main function was to supervise and issue instructions to the various professors. This board, says Tārānātha, kept watch over the affairs of the University of Nālandā. This would imply that the new University had superseded the old, and that all the power had been vested in the board appointed for the new University. It is also suggestive of the fact that the presiding deity of both the Universities was the ruling Pāla King, the first being Dharmapāla.

It is interesting to note how the University and the king honoured distinguished scholars. Learned expounders of Theology were called "pillars" of the University,[1] probably because they were responsible for the religiousness and metaphysical uplift of the students, whose main idea was to attain *Nirvāṇa* (for others and for themselves.) while the king himself granted the title of 'Paṇḍita' to the distinguished alumni of the University.[2]

If nothing condemnatory could be found in the life of a Nālandā-student, there being no positive evidence, we get an insight into the Vikramaśilā-student-life from the following story told by Das.[3] There was in Vikramaśilā, a class of Tantrikas called by the name of Kiṁsukha, who once brought much trouble on Atīśa. One Maitri who belonged to that class, was charged with certain irregularities in matters of doctrine, ritual and other matters of a similar nature, on account of which something condemnatory was written on the wall at the entrance of the *Vihāra* by a monk called Śānti. On another occasion a quantity of wine was detected in the possession of Maitri, which he had kept secretly in his place and which he was alleged to have brought in order that it may be given as a present to a Buddhist Yoginī, whom he intended to consult on certain matters. The fact having been brought to the notice of the *Saṅgha*, they expressed their indignation at his conduct and decided to expel him from the monastery, but Maitri was unwilling to abide by their decision. At this stage there arose a difference in the opinion of the members of the *saṅgha*, some taking his side, others opposing him vehemently. The majority of the monks insisted on his being turned out of the monastery. One of the monks observed : "If his stay in our midst does not affect me or you individually, it may injure others (less guarded)". So, at last his expulsion was decided upon. His offence being considered a serious one, he was not to be expelled by the main entrance. He was sent across the wall of the monastery. Though Atīśa, as the head of the *saṅgha* had acquiesced in their decision about Maitri, yet personally he entertained doubt about its propriety and equity. Accordingly, he consulted the goddess Tārā, his tutelary deity, offering his prayers to her in the usual manner at night. The goddess, appearing in a dream, thrice said to him : "Son, it has not been good." He suddenly awoke and came out of his room, but did not find anybody. Again he prayed to the gods and Bodhisattva for further enlightenment on the subject. He heard a voice which said : "Maitri has been innocently accused of the offence. As he had acquired the true conception of the *Bodhi* (saintly) life, you have committed a serious sin in permitting his expulsion from the monastery." It was also said that in consequence of it. Atīśa was destined to be born a huge bird of Sumeru and that in making three rounds, round the peak of Sumeru, he would kill numerous beings. The only means by which he could get out of the difficulty was to go to the northern direction towards Tibet to preach the Mahāyāna Dharma there.

---

[1] Samaddar, o.c., p. 150.

[2] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic. Mediaeval School*, p. 79.

[3] *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 11-12.

Besides throwing very important light on the actual life of the student, the story has a significance from other points of view as well. First, we learn that if any action was to be taken, it could be taken only after consulting the whole community of monks. Thus, even so late as the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., the Buddhist *saṅgha* had retained its characteristic government, which we called "Republican Church Government."

Secondly, we get conclusive evidence of the fact that wine was used, though secretly, in Buddhist monasteries. We also learn that Tantrism of a higher order never brooked any violation of the rules of morality, and if any such thing was brought to the notice of the authorities, the defaulter was severely punished. Lastly, we see that the story is an example of Atīśa's high sense of duty and love for truth. Feeling that he had not done the right thing in expelling the student, he prayed for divine guidance.

We have thus tried to give a brief, yet a comprehensive account of the University of Vikramaśilā.

Other Universities that grew up during the reign of the Pālas were Odantapuri and Jagaddala.

The rise of the former is attributed by Tārānātha[1] to Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty : we have, however, no other evidence to prove the existence of this University nor do we know any thing about its studies and pandits.

Jagaddala was founded by King Rāmapāla in the eleventh century, in the new capital of the Pālas, Ramavati, on the banks of the rivers Ganges and Karatoyā in the country of

---

[1] *o.c.*, pp. 158 and 193.

Varendra, i.e., Northern Bengal. Its actual site, however, has not yet been located.[1]

From the works composed by its paṇḍitas, Dānaśīla and others, Tantrism of the most degraded type seems to have prevailed there.[2] The works deal with Piśāca, owls, nāgas (serpents), yakṣas, etc. and their *sādhanas* revealing to what low depths of moral the pandits had sunk, while believing all the time that they were doing the most praiseworthy act, viz. composing works on the worship of objects whom they regard as deities.

Of all the contemporary Universities. the only University worthy of standing in comparison with Nālandā was Vikramaśilā, with its magnificent buildings and eminent personalities, like Atīśa and Jetari. But even this University did not reach that pinnacle of glory, which Nālandā acquired in the days of Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla and Dharmakīrti. For, notwithstanding the fact that the University imparted knowledge in perhaps the same subjects that one could find in the Nālandā curriculum, still the time, when it came into existence went against it. Nālandā grew up, as we have seen, when the Indian thought had found its best expression. And though this would also hold good in the case of Vikramaśilā, Vikramaśilā suffered from the deterioration which had come over Buddhism in the form of Tantrism, Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, etc. These *patois* of Buddhism contributed nothing to the propagation of culture.[3] They rather were, to a certain degree, responsible for the downfall of Buddism. Naturally, therefore, a University which consumed such base stuff, would not create a very great impression. And so far as the publicity it gained in

---

1. For a fuller description, see Bose, *o.c.*, 143. ff.
2. We here excluded the esoteric aspect of Tantrism.
3. We here exclude the part played by Tantrism in developing the Pāla art.

Tibet and other countries is concerned, much of it was due to the low standard of religion, education and morality that prevailed there. Tibet, we are told, was in the hands of the most debased kinds of raligious practitioners, so much so that its king sent for Atīśa, who was known for his great learning and reforming zeal. Buddhism in India as well as in Tibet was raised from its moral and intellectual downfall,[1] though Tantrism, perhaps in its purer aspects, was still the most favourite subject of study, as is shown by the numerous works on Tantrism by Atīśa himself.[2]

---

[1] Cf. These words, "It was Atīśa who cleared the degenerate Buddhism of Tibet and restored it to its former purity and splendour," *J.A.S.B*, 1891, p. 49.

[2] The remarks have made, from 40 years ago, are to be read with the re-valuation of Tantrism, we have cited earlier.

Chapter IX

Nālandā—An International University

Fergusson compared Nālandā with Monte Cassino, one of the great interprovincial Universities of Mediaeval Europe.[1] From the evidence that is at hand, we think, we can assign it a still higher position, viz. of an international University.

Streams of pilgrim-students wended their way to Nālandā, in search of knowledge from China, Tibet and Korea.[2] In India itself the princes of Magadha[3] in Central India, of Kashmere[4] and sons of many lords and nobles came to study at Nālandā from such distant provinces as Kāñchīpura[5] (modern Conjeevaram) in the South, Puruṣapura[6] (modern Peshawar) in the North and Samatata in the East.[7] Moreover, it was at Nālandā that King Harṣa,[8] the overlord of Northern and Central India and the King of Yavadvīpa (Java) and

---

[1] Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 136.

[2] Beal, *J.R.A.S.* XIII, N.S. p. 556.

[3] Prince Bālāditya, afterwards King Narasiṁhagupta, see Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 44.

[4] Padmasaṁbhava, see Waddell, *o.c.*, p. 26. Not from Kashmere proper but from its North-West, i.e. from the country about Ghazni.

[5] Dharmapāla, see Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 288.

[6] Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, see Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 35.

[7] Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II. p. 110.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, built[1] *vihāras* for students to prosecute their studies.

Among the pilgrims, who came from foreign countries, Hiuen Tsiang was perhaps the first to visit Nālandā, for Fa-hien does not seem to have visited it.

Whatever Hiuen Tsiang and his famous successor I-Tsing had to say about Nālandā, has already been noted to a considerable extent in the preceding pages. Consequently, we shall confine ourselves here to that account of Nālandā which deals with the pilgrims, studies at Nālandā and the treatment that was accorded to them.

The University sent four men of distinguished position some seven *yojanas* in advance to receive Hiuen Tsiang. Refreshing himself at the guest-house belonging to the University, Hiuen Tsiang entered Nālandā, with some two hundred priests and about a thousand lay patrons, singing or recounting his praises, and carrying standards, umbrellas, flowers and perfumes.[2]

The authorities at Nālandā had issued instructions to the servants that every comfort and convenience should be given to the pilgrim from China so that he might feel at home, and that all the commodities used by priests and all appliances of religion for his convenience.[3]

The biographer has given a graphic description of his (Hiuen Tsiang's) life at Nālandā. After the pilgrim was relieved of the fatigue of the journey, he was taken to Śīlabhadra, the head of the University. To him, Hiuen Tsiang disclosed his object in coming to the University, viz. to learn the principles of *Yogaśāstra* from Śīlabhadra himself, and then requested him to receive him (Hiuen Tsiang) as a pupil. The request being granted, he was taken to the college of Bālāditya-rājā (Narasiṁhagupta), and took his residence in the dwelling of Buddhabhadra, having four storeys (or, the *four storey*), who entertained him for seven days. After this, he went to reside in the dwelling to the north of the abode of Dharmapāla, where he was provided with every sort of charitable offering. Day after day, he received 120 *Jaṁbiras*, 20 *Pinbong-tseu* (*pūga*, *areca nut*) 20 *tau kau* (*nutmegs*), an ounce of *camplior* and a *ching* (peek) of Mahāśāli rice. "This rice", says Hwui Li, "is as large as the black bean, and when cooked is aromatic and shining, like no other rice at all. It grows only in Magadha, and nowhere else. It is offered only to the king or to religious persons of great distinction, and hence the name Mahāśāli (rice offered to the great householder).

---

[1] Nālandā Copper-plate of Devapāladeva, *Epi. Ind.*, XVII, p. 327.

[2] Hwui Li. *o.c.*, p. 106.

[3] *Ibid.*

Every month, he was presented with three measures of oil and a daily supply of butter and other things, according to his need.

A pure brother (*Upāsaka*) and a Brāhmaṇa, relieved from all religious duties, accompanied him, with a riding elephant."[1]

Such hospitality was not bestowed upon Hiuen Tsiang alone. "In the Nālandā convent," continues the same author, "the abbot entertains a thousand priests after this fashion, for besides the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsiang), there were men from every quarter, and where in all their wanderings have they met such courteous treatment as this ?".

After paying a visit to all the sacred places and having paid his reverence to them, the pilgrim-student returned to Nālandā and took seriously to his studies.

---

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

The Master of the Law, as our student was called, heard the explanation of the *Yoga-śāstra*, three times ; the *Nyāya Anusāra. śāstra* once the *Hin-hiang-tui fā-ming*, once ; rhe *Hetuvidyā-śāstra* and the *Śabdavidyā* and the *tsah-liang-śāstras*, twice ; the *Pranya-mūla-śāstra-tīkā*, and the *Śata-śāstra*, thrice ; then he heard the explanation of *Kośa*, *Vibhaṣā* and the *Ṡatpadābhindharma* ; after finishing these, he devoted his attention to non-Buddhist studies.[1]

The pilgrim inspired so much confidence and struck his tutor so much with his devotion, zeal and mental abilities, that we find Śilabhadra deputing Hiuen Tsiang on his return visit to Nālandā, to expound to the congregation, the *Mahāyāna-saṁparigraha-śāstra.* He comments on the difficulties of the *Vidyā-mātrā-siddhi-śāstra.*[2] Hiuen Tsiang occupied a much more honourable post at Nālandā, than even the teacher and expounder of the above works. He attempted, in a work called *Hwui-Tsung*, to reconcile the two contradictory doctrines : *that there is nothing to be attained by effort* ; and its opposite, *that we may attain the one true nature (by yoga).* The composition, when presented to Śīlabhadra and to the assembly of eminent pandits, was very highly spoken of and it was included in the curriculum for study.[3]

Rising thus higher and higher from one post of honour to another, the pilgrim reached the pinnacle of glory, when he defeated the heretic of the Shun-si (Lokāyata) sect, who came to debate with the monks of Nālandā. In this debate, Hiuen Tsiang, not only showed complete mastery over the various schools of Buddhism, but a unique knowledge of the philosophical systems of others, viz. the Bhūtas, Nirgranthas,

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
3. Hwui Li, *o c.*, p. 158. Very recently Yuanchwang's (Hiuen Tsiang's) *Vijñaptimātratasiddhi-sāstra's* Sanskrit restoration is published in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIX, December, 1933.

the Kāpālikas, and the Jutikas, the Sāṁkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas. We shall only refer to his refutation of the *Śaṁkhya* system, the most important of the group.

He first states the philosophy of the opponent, viz. the Sāṁkhya. Says he: "As to the heretics called Sāṁkhyas, they establish twenty-five principles; from *Prakriti* or *mūla prakṛiti* proceeds *mahat*; from *mahat* proceeds *ahaṁkāra*; from this proceed the five subtle particles (called *tanmātrā*) from these proceed the five elements; from these the seven organs of sense and action). These twenty-four, all minister to and cherish the Soul (*ātman*), which accepting and using the help thus given, excludes and removes itself. This being done, then the soul remains pure and uncontaminated."[1]

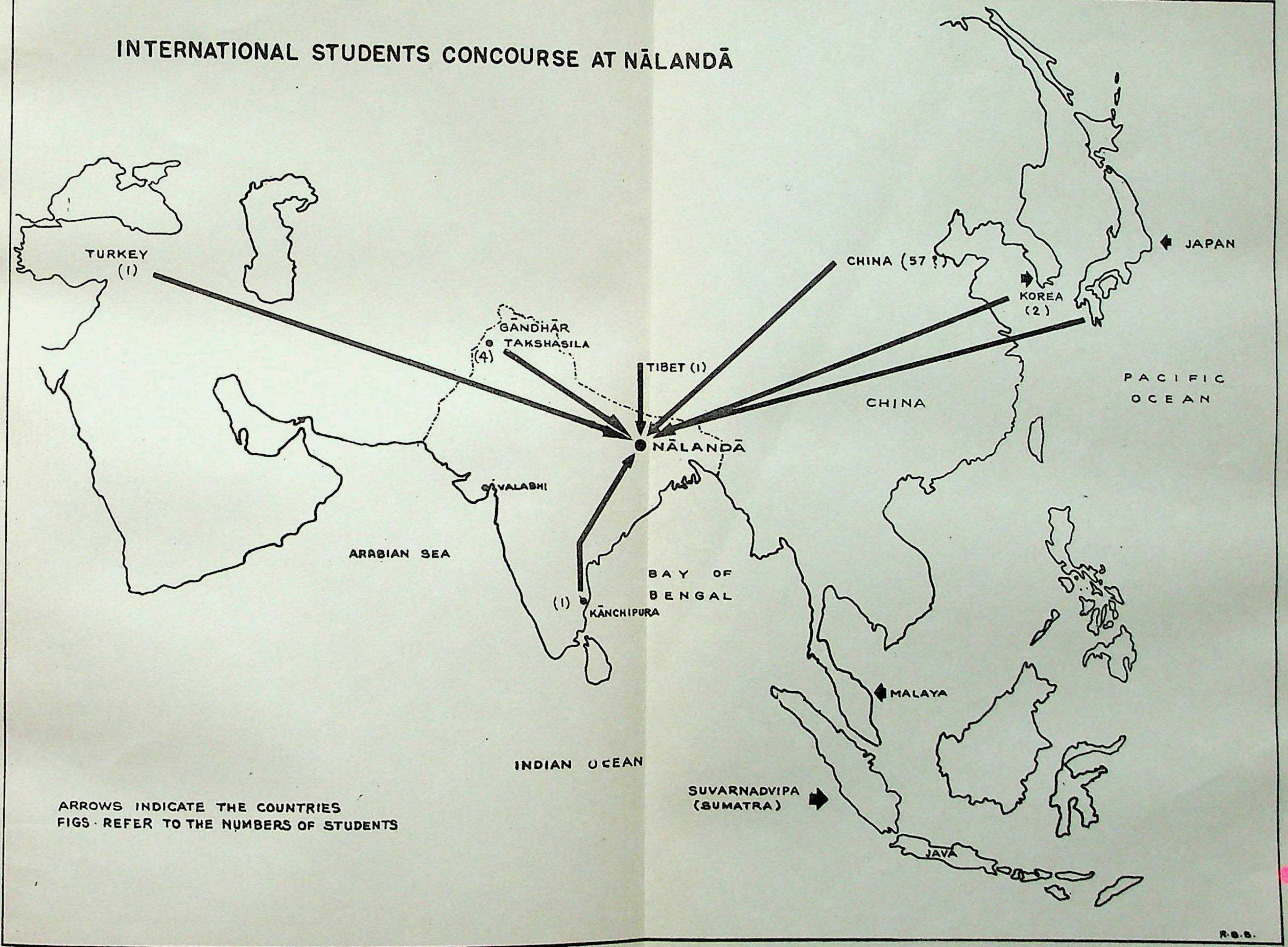
Thus after showing that he was thoroughly conversant with the *Śāṁkhya* philosophy, he turns to a refutation of it. Addressing the heretic he said, "You say that in the presence of your twenty-five principles, the character of the Soul is distinct and diverse but by intermingling with the other twentey-four it becomes substantially and intimately one. And you say that Nature (*Prakṛiṭi*) is hypnotised by union with the three *guṇas* of *Sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* and by intermingling of these three, the *mahat* is perfected as well as twenty three other principles; thus you affirm that these twenty-three principles are perfected by the three *guṇas*. But if you constrain your *mahat* and the others, to lay hold of the three and so to become perfect, as in the case of a crowd or a forest, and without this intermingling, they are false,—how then do you say that 'all things are true?'

"Again, the *mahat* and the rest, being each of them perfected by the three, then each one, so perfected, is the same as the whole, but if each is the same as the whole, then the office of each ought to be the same, and then, where is the force of the three forming the substance of all? Again if

---

[1] Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 162.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS CONCOURSE AT NĀLANDĀ


TURKEY (1)
GANDHĀR
TAKSHASILA
(4)
TIBET (1)
CHINA (57?)
KOREA (2)
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHINA
NĀLANDĀ
VALABHI
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
(1) KĀNCHIPURA
MALAYA
INDIAN OCEAN
SUVARNADVIPA (SUMATRA)
JAVA
R.B.S.

ARROWS INDICATE THE COUNTRIES
FIGS. REFER TO THE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS

one is the same as all, then the mouth and the eye functions, and so on, are the same as the functions of nature.

Again, if each function discharges the duties of all, then the mouth and the ear, and so on, ought to smell perfumes and colours ; for if they do not, what is the meaning of the assertion that the three *guṇas* make one common substance ? How can any sensible man formulate such principles ?

"But again, *prakṛti* and *ātman*, both being eternal, ought to be in their hypothases identical ; how, then, can one, in distinction from the other, by intermingling, produce *mahat*, and so on ?

"But again, with respect to the nature of *ātman*, if it is eternal, then it is the same as *prakṛti*, but if they are the same, then what need is there of speaking of *ātman* ? and then the *ātman* is not able to accept the aid of the twenty-four principles, and there can be no possibility of establishing the different offices of "*subject*" and "*object*".

Hiuen Tsiang's refutation of the *Sāṁkhya-śāstra* appears strikingly original and unique to us who are acquainted with that of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja or Vallabha.

It appears that Hiuen Tsiang probes the very vitals of the system ; and the way in which he proves the futility of the *ātman* by showing it to be identical with *prakṛti*. and incapable of intermingling with it, dazzles us at first sight.

But a little examination of his objections against the Sāṁkhya would reveal that Hiuen Tsiang assumes too much. At least so it appears from the translation before us, and unless there is a mistake in the translation, or his biographer has not been able to represent his master's views well, we do not see any reason why the opponent should have been silenced and accepted defeat. We shall point out a few flaws in Hiuen Tsiang's arguments. His objection that there is no force in the three forming the substance of the whole (all the principles) as each (as he proves) is the same as the whole, and thus the office of each ought to be the same, is thoroughly opposed to the chemical principles on which the *Sāṁkhya*-system is based. Because, if our body is constituted by the five elements, "perfected", as Hiuen Tsiang would put it, it does not mean that our body is as good as and equal to every one of the elements. Only when the five elements combine that the body can be created, and Hiuen Tsiang seems to have missed this point. Likewise, only the combination of the three *guṇas* and a stir in their equilibrium can produce the *mahat*, and so *mahat* cannot be said to be equal to the three *guṇas*.

Again, Hiuen Tsiang assumes too much, when he says that *Prakṛti* and *ātman* both being eternal are identical (unless his opponent had said so, which is not reported). All things which are eternal are not identical ; for they have some distinguishing characteristics and we know that *Puruṣa* and *prakṛti* do possess such characteristics.

The foundations, therefore, on which Hiuen Tsiang builds his arguments are untenable, and so his refutation of the *Sāṁkhya*-system, though strikingly original, is unconvincing.

If the discussion is suggestive of the power of Hiuen Tsiang as a debater, it also suggests the capacity and greatness of the University which could convert a traveller into such a learned debater, one who could talk on all the then known philosophies with so much accuracy. No wonder, then, if Hiuen Tsiang speaks about the University in such highly glowing terms which would make any institution proud.[1] And we think he was amply rewarded for the arduous and weary journey that he undertook for learning the *Yogaśāstra* and the like from the pandits of Nālandā.

---

[1] We have already elsewhere referred to Nālandā's fame and so we do not repeat it here.

In the interval that follows after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang in about 629 A.D. and the visit of I-Tsing in 671 A.D., that means in 40 years, according to I-Tsing, about 57 pilgrims visited India from China, Japan, Korea,[1] and we mention below names of those pilgrims who went to Nālandā for study. Those who came by sea, viz, Tāmralīpti are grouped under the caption "Pilgrims who came by the Southern route;" those by land, viz, Mangolia, Turkestan and Tibet are grouped as "Pilgrims who came by the Northern route."

We proceed with the pilgrims who visited Nālandā by the Northern route. The Shaman Yuan Chiu went to India through Tibet. He stayed at Jālandhara, where he studied the Sanskrit language, the Buddhist *Sūtras* and the *Vinava.* Thereafter, he reached Nālandā, where he remained for three years and made the acquaintance of a priest called Shin-Kwong. He also met here a noted priest of Ceylon, from whom he received a copy of *Yoga* and the sacred books. In 664 A.D., he paid a second visit to India and also to Nālandā, where I-Tsing was then residing.[2]

Tao Hi, a Doctor of Law, called Śrīdeva in Sanskrit, went to Nālandā, and studiously applied himself to the Great Vehicle. He left more than 400 Chinee *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* at Nālandā. I-Tsing did not meet him but saw his chamber.[3]

In 638 A.D., perhaps immediately after Hiuen Tsiang returned to China, Āryavarma, a Korean, left Chaugan and came to Nālandā. Here he engaged himself in copying many *Sūtras* and became well versed in the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhama.* He died at Nālandā at the age of about 70.[4]

---

[1] I-Tsing, *Nan-hae-kwei-niu-fa-ch'uen*, referred to by Beal, *J.R.A.S.*, XIII, N.S., p. 556.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 563-564.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

Another Korean, Hwui Nieh, a Doctor of Law, came to Nālandā in almost the same year as Āryavarma. Here he dwelt for a long time, re-adjusting and studying. I-Tsing while arranging some Chinese books at Nālandā, saw under the title this record: "Whilst dwelling under the Tooth-brush Tree, the Korean priest Hwui Nieh wrote this record." On inquiring at temple, the priests said that he died there the same year at the age of about sixty. The Sanskrit works he wrote were preserved at Nālandā.[1]

Bodhidharma, a man of the Tukhāra country, of great bodily size and strength, first went to China and became a priest there. Afterwards, he went to India to adore the sacred vestiges. I-Tsing says that he met him at Nālandā. This pilgrim appears to be a globe-trotter, because from Nālandā, he again proceeded to Northern India and died at the age of fifty.[2]

Taou-sing, a Doctor of the Law, called in Sanskrit Candradeva, went to India in the year 649 A.D. When he visited Nālandā, he was much honoured by the King on account of his youth.

The pilgrims who came to Nālandā by the Southern route:

A priest of the Mahāyāna School called Tang or "the lamp", came to India by sea, landed at Tāmralīpti, studied and perfected himself in Sanskrit and proceeded to Nālandā.[3]

Another priest, Taou-Lin of King Chau, whose Sanskrit name was Śīlaprabha, also landed at Tāmralīpti and then went to Nālandā. Here he studied *Kośa.* After a year or two, he proceeded to Vulture Peak.[4]

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 565.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 566.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 558-559.
4. *Ibid.*

Hwui-Ta, a priest of Kung Chow, also came to India after visiting Malaya, etc. via, Tāmralīpti. He says that Nālandā was some 60 stages from this place. He stayed at Nālandā for ten years.[1]

The priest Wou King studied at Nālandā, *Yoga Kośa* and other works, and died at Nālandā.[2]

We have spoken of and described the land route from China. The sea route to India from China was by way of Java, Sumatra, the Straits of Malacca, the coast of Burma and Arakan, to Tāmralīpti on the Eastern Coast of India. Here the voyage ended and the traveller then proceeded on foot to various holy places. Some adventurous travellers preferred the route of Ceylon from Quedah.

How many more pilgrims came to Nālandā may well be imagined from the names mentioned above. These are the names of students whom I-Tsing had the opportunity to know. There must be many more, for whom no records are available.

I-Tsing, a pilgrim as famous as Hiuen Tsiang, also belongs to the group of travellers who came to India and Nālandā by the Southern route. From China he started for India, in A.D. 671 and arrived at Tāmralīpti, modern Tamluk at the mouth of the Hoogly, in A.D. 673.[3]

At Nālandā he stayed for ten years, and we have noted elsewhere his minute observation of the customs and manners of the priests and the life of students. "I lived in the Nālandā *Vihāra*", says he, "for ten years."[4] No mention is made about his studies at Nālandā; but we know that, besides collecting some 400 Sanskrit texts, amounting to 500,000

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 561.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 562.
[3] I-Tsing, *o.c.*, p. XVIII.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. XXXIII.

ślokas, I-Tsing translated the hymn of 150 verses composed by Mātriketa, in praise of Buddha when he was staying in the Nālandā monastery (A.D. 675-685).It is called *Sārdhaśataka-Buddhaptra-Samsagāthā*.[1] The reasons for translating this hymn are given by him. "The author (Mātriketa) treates qualities of the Buddha, the World-honoured One. These charming compositions are equal in beauty to heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men, like the Bodhisattvas Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu, admired him greatly.

"Throughout India, every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātriketa's two hymns, as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts.

"This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools; there are six reasons for this. Firstly, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound virtues. Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly, they ensure purity of language. Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, the nervousness in assembly is overcome by reciting them. Sixthly, by their use, life is prolonged and made free from disease. After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other *Sūtras*. But these beautiful literary productions have not as yet been brought to China."[2]

The University continued to flourish for five centuries more, after the visit of I-Tsing. During that long period, many other pilgrim-students ardently went to Nālandā in search of knowledge, hearing of its greatness from Hiuen Tsiang, I-Tsing and others. Unfortunately, we have no record of these visitors. We know of one student, son of a

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 156. n. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 157-158.

minister of Tibet, who came to India and studied at Nālandā. The circumstances under which he visited India are given below.

"The King of Tibet, Srong-tsan was very anxious to introduce the art of writing into Tibet. He sent several young men to India but they returned on account of difficulties on the way. Thereafter, Thonmi, the son of Anul, a brave, talented minister of the king, undertook to visit India for the purpose of studying the Indian languages. The king furnished him with a large quantity of gold, to enable him to make presents to the Indian princes and professors of Sanskrit learning. He travelled southward to India and hearing of the fame of a Brāhmaṇa, named Lipidatta, noted for proficiency in the art of writing, he went to him. Under Lipidatta, his intelligence developed, and the lamp of knowledge being lighted he learnt the sections of Nāgarī and Gāthā characters. Having finished his education under Lipidatta, he proceeded to the great monastery of Śrī Nālandā and having placed himself under the tuition of Ācharyā Devavid Siṁha, he studied the sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists.

While Thonmi Saṁbhata was studying at Nālandā, the great Chinese pilgrim traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, visited the monastery. The splendour and usefulness of that institution, increased in the first century B.C. by Saraha, the tutor and spiritual guide of Nāgārjuna, were still undiminished."[1]

The work of the University was not confined to the teaching of students who were within its precincts. It sent out scholars to China, Korea, Japan, and Ceylon to light the lamp of knowledge in these foreign lands. Spade-work in this direction had already been done by such luminaries as Kumārajīve Guṇavarman, Paramārtha, the translator of the life of Vasubandhu,[2] in the early years of the fifth century, just before

---

[1] Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 47-48.

[2] See Bose, *The Indian Teachers in China*, pp. 58-59.

ślokas, I-Tsing translated the hymn of 150 verses composed by Mātriketa, in praise of Buddha when he was staying in the Nālandā monastery (A.D. 675-685).It is called *Sārdhaśataka-Buddhaptra-Samsagāthā*.[1] The reasons for translating this hymn are given by him. "The author (Mātriketa) treates qualities of the Buddha, the World-honoured One. These charming compositions are equal in beauty to heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men, like the Bodhisattvas Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu, admired him greatly.

"Throughout India, every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātriketa's two hymns, as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts.

"This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools; there are six reasons for this. Firstly, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound virtues. Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly, they ensure purity of language. Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, the nervousness in assembly is overcome by reciting them. Sixthly, by their use, life is prolonged and made free from disease. After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other *Sūtras*. But these beautiful literary productions have not as yet been brought to China."[2]

The University continued to flourish for five centuries more, after the visit of I-Tsing, During that long period, many other pilgrim-students ardently went to Nālandā in search of knowledge, hearing of its greatness from Hiuen Tsiang, I-Tsing and others. Unfortunately, we have no record of these visitors. We know of one student, son of a minister of Tibet, who came to India and studied at Nālandā. The circumstances under which he visited India are given below.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 156. n. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157-158.

"The King of Tibet, Srong-tsan was very anxious to introduce the art of writing into Tibet. He sent several young men to India but they returned on account of difficulties on the way. Thereafter, Thonmi, the son of Anul, a brave, talented minister of the king, undertook to visit India for the purpose of studying the Indian languages. The king furnished him with a large quantity of gold, to enable him to make presents to the Indian princes and professors of Sanskrit learning. He travelled southward to India and hearing of the fame of a Brāhmaṇa, named Lipidatta, noted for proficiency in the art of writing, he went to him. Under Lipidatta, his intelligence developed, and the lamp of knowledge being lighted he learnt the sections of Nāgarī and Gāthā characters. Having finished his education under Lipidatta, he proceeded to the great monastery of Śrī Nālandā and having placed himself under the tuition of Ācharyā Devavid Siṁha, he studied the sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists.

While Thonmi Saṁbhata was studying at Nālandā, the great Chinese pilgrim traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, visited the monastery. The splendour and usefulness of that institution, increased in the first century B.C. by Saraha, the tutor and spiritual guide of Nāgārjuna, were still undiminished."[1]

The work of the University was not confined to the teaching of students who were within its precincts. It sent out scholars to China, Korea, Japan, and Ceylon to light the lamp of knowledge in these foreign lands. Spade-work in this direction had already been done by such luminaries as Kumārajīve Guṇavarman, Paramārtha, the translator of the life of Vasubandhu,[2] in the early years of the fifth century, just before the time when Nālandā was developing into a University. After these, some fifty monks, the majority of them from Central India, went to China and though the records at our disposal do not say that they were from Nālandā, it would not be wrong to say that many of them must be from Nālandā. We know for certain that in the beginning of the eighth century, Subhākara Siṁha,[1] a pandit of the Nālandā University proceeded to China. Four works are ascribed to him in the present collection of *Tripiṭaka*, as his translations from Sanskrit into Chinese. We mention two of his translated works:

---

[1] Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 47-48.

[2] See Bose, *The Indian Teachers in China*, pp. 58-59.

1. *Susiddhikara mahā-tantra.*
2. *Subahu-Kumāra Sūtra.*

Political conditions in China made it unsafe for the Indian pandits to go to that country. Very few pandits had, therefore, proceeded to China in the 9th and 10th centuries. In the latter part of the 10th century, however, a great Indian pandit, Dharmadeva, from the Nālandā University visited China. He proved to be one of the most famous translators of the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1127). He was appointed a member of the Imperial Board for the translation of Indian Buddhist Texts. By the year 981 A.D., he translated no less than 46 works into Chinese. In appreciation of the great services rendered by him in the propagation of Chinese Buddhism, the Emperor Theitsun conferred upon him the title of Kwhan Kai-tash. The majority of the works translated by him consist of *Tantras* and *Dhāraṇis*. To mention a few of them :

1. *Vasudharā-dhāraṇī.*
2. *Mahā-daṇḍa-dhāraṇī.*
3. *Buddha-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī.*

These names, however, are taken from the works translated by him, under the name of Fa-Hien. He translated

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

72 new works in 19 years (A.D. 982-1001) under his new name Fa-hien. Besides these, he translated the most popular work of Mahāyāna Buddhism, viz. *Sukhāvatīvyūha*. In order to encourage others to work like Dharmadeva, the Emperor bestowed another title of Hhuien Kiao shan, even though Dharmadeva was dead.[1]

In the previous year A.D. 972, fortyfour Indian monks went to China. And "according to Chinese chronicles there were never so many Indian monks in the Chinese Court as at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. A large number of Sanskrit manuscripts were brought by these Indian monks as well as the Chinese pilgrims. In 952 A.D. the Chinese Emperor appointed a Board of Translators with three Indian scholars at the head. They translated more than 200 volumes between A.D. 982 and 1011."

Numerous Chinese pilgrims came to India between A.D. 950 and 1033. In A.D. 964 some three hundred Chinese monks started for India, and this pilgrimage lasted for 12 years. Two years later the Chinese Emperor issued an appeal to the Buddhist monks, and 157 of them went in pursuance of it—imperial homage to the holy places in India. They were furnished with a letter.........all the kings of Central Asia and Northern India to help them with guides. Five of these Chinese pilgrims have left short inscriptions at the sacred sites of Bodh-Gaya. One of them records the visit of the monk Che-yi in A.D. 950. Three others, dated A.D. 1022, refer to the construction of stone *stūpas* by three Chinese monks. The last inscription is more interesting. It is dated in A.D. 1033 and records the construction of a *stūpa* in honour of Emperor Tai-tsong by the Emperor and the Dowager Empress of the great Song dynasty. We are told that the Emperor and the Empress respectively changed the monk Huai-Wen with the task of going to the country of Magadha in order to erect a *stūpa* by the side of the Vajrāsana dedicated to Emperor Tai-tsong."

---

[1] Bose, o.c., pp. 130-135.

Usually, pilgrims who went to Bodh-Gaya also visited Nālandā. This happened even two hundred years later, as we learn from the Tibetan monk Dharmmasvāmin. And so it is more than probable that many of these Chinese pilgrims had paid a visit to Nālandā as well.

This most fruitful intercourse between China and India came to an end in A.D. 1036, and only a single monk is known to have gone to China in A.D. 1053. (*H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, pp. 444-45).

Perhaps the last pandit to visit China from Nālandā, was Pou-t'o-ki-to, who was described as the "Śramaṇa of the Temple of Nālandā of Central India." He offered some relics of Buddha and Sanskrit Texts to the emperor.[1]

We have not referred to the pandits who proceeded to China from Central India as then understood. But we think that these pandits from Central India must be no other than the pandits of Nālandā, because Nālandā was the greatest and the most flourishing Buddhist institution in Central India.

If Nālandā was an international University, it was the greatest University in India at that time and not only in Central India as Fergusson[2] puts it. Says he, "What Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nālandā was to Central India." To substantiate our statement we shall have to repeat some portions of the chapter "Famous Pandits of Nālandā."

From the earliest period of its history, Nālandā was the centre of attraction for students, and with the lapse of time, as its fame spread far and wide, as a great Temple of Learning, not only students from different parts of India flocked to Nālandā for education, but even kings of Kanauj and other parts of India, as well as kings of such distant countries as Java and Sumatra and Burma and Assam (Kāmarūpa) began to show their interest in the institution.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[2] Fergusson, *o.c.*, p. 157.

We shall, therefore, turn our attention to these students and kings. The interest which Buddha and his band took in Nālandā, then a small but a rich village, we have noted in a previous chapter.[1]

Perhaps the first student to go to Nālandā, from a province that was farthest from it, viz. Kosala in Southern India, even before Nālandā had attained the position of a University, was Nāgarjuna. He, probably, sowed the seeds of the foundation of the University.

Leaving, however, tradition, behind, it appears for certain Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, both of them brothers, came to Nālandā from Peshawar (Puruṣapura) from the North. And here they found suitable soil for the cultivation of their genius, and contributed immensely to Buddhism, by expounding it and refuting the attacks against it.[2]

The part which Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra played in maintaining the lofty position that Nālandā possessed in India as well as abroad, we have already noticed. Now this Dharmapāla was a native of Kāñcīpura (Conjeevaram)[3], and he travelled all the way from this city, hundreds of miles away, to receive knowledge at Nālandā, in Magadha.

His successor, Śīlabhadra who belonged to the family of the king of Samatata, parts of the plains of Bengal, wandered

---

1. Chapter III. p. 36.
2. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, 97 and Tāranatha. *o.c.*, p. 72.
3. Hiuen Tsiang, *o.c.*, II, p. 228, n. 118.

from place to place in India in search of religious truth. He called a halt only when he came to Nālandā because he thought that Nālandā's pandits would show him the way to truth and therefore to deliverance from the chain of miseries.[1]

Vīradeva, while King Devapāladeva was ruling over Magadha, came to Nālandā from Nagarāhāra (a town in the immediate vicinity of Jalalabad).[2] He did not go to Nālandā to study, for he had already mastered the *Vedas* and other *Śāstras*.[3] His object in going to Nālandā was, perhaps, to get his merit recognized. And he realised his ambition when "he was permanently appointed to govern Nālandā."[4]

We have already spoken of Nālandā as the home of the most versatile pandits, whose assistance was sought by King Harṣa to vanquish the Hīnayānists. Reference was also made to the important position that Nālandā held in public, religious and philosophical controversies, so much so that 1000 pandits from Nālandā alone were summoned to attend the great assembly convened by Śrī Harṣa, to discuss and examine the work composed by Hiuen Tsiang.

Nālandā's great fame attracted the attention of the king of such distant countries as Java and Sumatra. "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nālandā, he (Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvipa) built there (at Nālandā) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks with various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings."[5]

These lines speak volumes in favour of the greatness of Nālandā.

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
2. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography* of India, I, p. 43.
3. Ghosrawa Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 311.
4. *Ibid.*, Lines, 11-12.
5. The Nālandā Copper-plate of Devapāladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 327, verse 32.

First, Nālandā was renowned not for one or two outstanding qualities, but they were, as the inscription says, "manifold." Nālandā, again, as it appears from other lines, was a centre where "venerable *bhikṣus* assembled from the four quarters," was an abode where "resided Bodhisattvas well-versed in *Tantras*, and the eight great holy personages." It was a storehouse of old manuscripts (Dharma Ratnas) and to copy them learned men flocked to Nālandā (which was) finally an emporium which supplied medicine to the sick, alms to the beggar, garments to the naked, and shelter to the homeless. In Nālandā were thus combined all the diverse features. It was at once a monastery for the monks to reside, a University and a library (which feature is really subsumed under the former), a hospital, and finally a free institution, catering to all the needs of the poor.

The second point worth noting, in the lines just quoted, is that Nālandā was even in the 9th century A.D., in the same flourishing condition, i.e., a great centre of Buddhist lore that it was when Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing visited it.

We have thus shown that Nālandā was far greater than Monte Cassino, and held a more important position in India than Cluny and Clairvaux in France.

It was truly an international University. And what Buddhism did for religion, Nālandā did for learning. "Races belonging to different climates, habits and languages were drawn together, not in the clash of arms, not in the conflict of exploitation, but in harmony of life, in amity and peace."

Chapter X

The End of Nālandā

Little did the promulgator of the doctrine of Momentariness know that the very place, from which he preached his new philosophy, would also one day come to naught, and be destroyed, almost effaced from the memory of men whom it served so long, to find light, however again some day, as all things must, according to the Principle of the Wheel, in the hands of antiquarians. What he perhaps never dreamt of did happen. Nālandā, the resort of many religious teachers, the nursery of many new-fangled philosophies, the great Temple of Learning, after an existence of about a thousand years, was finally destroyed by the champion of a new faith. Its life was also momentary, for what is but a thousand years, in the infinite and endless flow of Time !

Thus did the great University meet its end : this is the verdict of the political historian, whose main function seems to have been to record only wars and treaties, death and devastation of men and countries, and the rise and fall of institutions and empires. But, strangely enough, the question is asked, why could not the buildings be reconstructed, as after the Hūṇa invasion under Mihirakula, and after the interregnum which followed the death of Harṣa and the rise of Pālas in Bengal, admitted though it be that the Moslem came, saw and conquered, and left no traces of the physical existence of the University?

The Moslem chronicler tells us that the onslaught of Bakhtiyar Khilji was so severe and so thorough that the monks (Brāhmaṇas with shaven heads) were killed, one and all, so much so, that there was no one left to explain the contents of books that the victor found at the place.[1]

But this answer will not suffice, for we know from a Tibetan source, *Pag-sam-Jonzang* that the temples and *Vihāras* were repaired once again by a sage, named Mudita Bhadra.[2] Further, "after this, one Kukkutasiddha, a minister of some king of Magadha, erected a temple." Thus, there is evidence of the external regeneration of the monastic order. Yet this was short-lived, for, according to another tradition, the buildings were razed to the ground by a stupid act of two mendicants. Ridiculed by the young monks, they are said to have propitiated the Sun for twelve years, performed a sacrifice believed to have thrown living embers on the stately structures which reduced them to ashes.[3] How far the tradition is true, we shall examine afterwards, along with the question of Nālandā's date of destruction at the hands of the Muslims. But the problem, viz. why the University was not rebuilt, monks reinstated and the whole institution given a new lease of life still remains unsolved.

This step could have been taken, were it not for the fact that Buddhism as a religion and, in fact, the whole of Buddhistic culture were robbed of all their vitality and mere external supports could not prop them up.

The history of the end of Nālandā, hence, is, in a sense, the history of the extinction of Buddhism from the land of

---

1. See *Tabakat-I Nasiri*, Elliot, *History of India*, II, p. 306.
2. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic Mediaeval School*, p. 149.
3. *Pag-sam-jonzang*. Index, I, i.

its birth. Various causes contributed to bring about its downfall. The chief causes can be conveniently divided into those inherent and those extraneous.

Taking a rapid survey of the extraneous causes first, we find that Buddhism which had become a state religion in the Aśokan era, had, gradually, in the centuries that followed, lost the royal patronage.

Aśoka's son and successor was a devout Jain,[1] and Puṣyamitra, the exterminator of the Mauryas, turned out to be the first persecutor of Gotama's faith.[2] In Kaniṣka's hands the religion once again became a state religion. But he never completely identified himself with the foreign faith. He appears to have clung to his old faith.[3] The Imperial Guptas, though they showed much interest-sympathy and toleration towards Buddhism, never embraced it. They on the contrary, felt proud to style themselves as "*Parama Bhāgavatas*" devotees of Vāsudeva. After receiving a severe set back at the hands of Mihirakula, Buddhism seems to have attained its former glory in the reign of Harṣa. Nevertheless, Harṣa's patronage was analogous to that of Kaniṣka. The Buddhists never acquired a complete monopoly. Moreover, this patronage was enjoyed, whatever the extent, for a short period only.

During the interregnum that followed, Harṣa's disappearance from the political horizon, and the rise of the Pālas in Bengal, we do not know exactly what course religion follow-

---

1. We refer to Samprati. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.*
2. Scholars are divided on this point. Raychaudhuri, *o.c.*, p. 210 says that he was not so intolerant as some represent him to be, while Bagchi, *Decline of Buddhism in India and its Causes. A.M.S.J.*, Vol. Orientalia, Part II, pp. 405-6, has tried to prove by citing *Divyavadana* and Kimura that Pusyamitra did really persecute the Buddhists.
3. See Raychaudhuri, *o.c.*, p. 254.

ed. But, when with the emergence of the Palas from the political chaos in Bengal as her elected kings, religion seemed to have found new champions, its internal degeneration had already set in, to which a death blow was given by the mighty-blood-smeared hand of Islam.

The loss of Imperial grace was not the only cause. There were other reasons too for its disappearance. These were mainly internal, those which affected the system itself. Of these, its pessimistic outlook on life, conveyed by the famous phrases, such as *Sarvam Dukkham*, *Sarvam anityam*, *Sarvam anātmyam*," "All is suffering, all is impermanent, all is Non-Soul," and its deficiency in supplying a deity seem to be the primary and cardinal defects. In chapter IV, while dealing with Tantrism, we have already referred to the fact that the common mind found no consolation, on the contrary it felt much aggrieved when preachings were dinned into its ears from the housetops that life is an unmixed evil and that *Nirvāṇa* or Salvation could not be achieved within a day but only after the completion of a whole cycle of existence. The theory of *Nairātmya* or Non-Soul could hardly be imbibed even by the learned, when many other faiths preached against it so vehemently and when *Ātmavāda* (belief in the Soul) appeared so natural to the human mind. The growth of divergent philosophies and views in Buddhism, since its inception, shows but one thing, namely, the eternal strivings of its exponents, to remove its short-comings. To attract the literate as well as the illiterate, they tried many methods. And the outcome was the different and slightly divergent philosophies, *Śūnyavāda*, *Ālayavijñānavāda*, and others.

But when in spite of their efforts they could not attract the masses and could not satisfy their thirst for the deity, Tantrism was introduced. With Tantrism, its offsprings, *Vajrayāna*, *Sahajayāna*, etc. made their appearance. But the authors who thus quenched the thirst of the popular mind for a deity, for mysticism, for superstition, for the fearful and the grotesque, could not keep it under control. Horrible excesses in matters of ritual were committed, which sapped the strength, vigour and vitality of the entire system.

The consequence was that Buddhism, while trying to be democratic, lost its moral prestige among the intelligentsia.

From the seventh century, then, Buddhism was on its downward march. It was slowly decaying. Just at this moment when moral degeneration had taken its root into the system, there came a terrible, philosophical onslaught.

Kumārila in the eighth century and Śaṅkara in the ninth attacked and demolished the gigantic and at one time impregnable edifices of the Sarvastivādins Vijñānavādins and others. They showed and proved the hollowness and absurdity of the Buddhist dialectics, of the theory of momentariness. etc. And the strength and complete mastery of the Vedāntin attack will be evident from the fact that Śaṅkara[1] thinks it too low, even to speak of *Śūnyavāda*, let alone its criticism and refutation.

We may just pause to consider the causes of Śaṅkara's signal victory and the complete defeat of Buddhism.

The first great champion of Non-dualism seems to have played a masterly game in popularising his doctrine. Knowing, as he did, the different tenets so well, he soon discovered the weakness of the Buddhist system. Non-belief in the Soul was, he knew, an Achilles' heel of Buddhist ; so also the theory of *Śūnya* or void. How to convert the mass of people who were steeped in the doctrine, yet tired of it, was the problem with him. He was really a genius and acted most ingeniously. He propounded once again the theory of *Ātman*, and side by side, preached that the world was all *Māyā*, illusion, false from the esoteric viewpoint, but true from the strictly exoteric view. He thus effected a compromise between the extreme Nihilism of Nāgārjuna, the Idealism of Āsanga and the Realism of other Brāhmaṇic theories. And in support of this, like a clever and pious Jew, he quoted scriptures—the *Upaniṣads*. Thus the literate as well as the illiterate found what they sought. There was a personal god for the masses : and for the cultured few the improved edition of *Śūnya* as well as the reaffirmation and reassertion of the theory of *Ātman*.

---

[1] Cf. Śankara, *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*, Adhyāya II, pāda II, sūtra 31. "*Śūnyavādipakṣatu sarvapramāṇavipratiṣidhadha tti tannirākaranays nadarah krīyate.*"

Buddhism was, thus, hemmed in from all sides political, moral and philosophical, and only one thing remained to exterminate it, viz. the annihilation of its visible existence, its abodes, the Buddhist monasteries, where it still continued to flourish.

To accomplish this task, as it were, the Destroyer sent the Mohammedan adventurer, to which we have already made a general reference. In the graphic language of the chronicler, "Bakhtiyar Khilji went to the gate of the fort of Behar with only two hundred horses, and began the war by taking the enemy unawares." Continuing he says, "Muhammad Bakhtiyar with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants were Brāhmaṇs with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large number of books were found there and when the Muhammedans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study. In the Hindu language, the word Behar means a college."[1]

Needless to say, the description of the so called fort of Bihar refers to the capture and destruction of a Buddhist monastery. Now this monastery has been identified[2] with the monastery of Odantapuri, founded by Rāmapāla, on the strength of the remarks of Tārānatha. He observes : "In the country between the Ganges and the Jamuna the Turuṣka king appeared and by means of several Bhikṣus who were his messengers, he with other small kings of the Turuskas living in Bengal and other parts of the country, invaded and conquered the whole of Magadha, killed many clerics in Odantapura, destroyed this as well as Vikramaśilā, and on the spot of the old Vihāra a fortress of the Turuṣkas was erected."[3] Samaddar places this event in 1199 A.D. and generalizes : "This was the year of the destruction of all the Buddhistic places of learning in Bihar, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and Odantapuri."[4]

It would thus appear that there is no direct evidence to prove that Nālandā was destroyed by the Mohammedans in the year A.D. 1199. We, however, think that the description of the loot and ravage of the monastery referred to by the Moslem chronicler might as well apply to Nālandā. The reasons for this suggestion are as under :

1. Nālandā like Vikramaśilā and Odantapuri, had, as we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, a big surrounding wall, which would give it the appearance of a fortress.

2. It had also a rich library containing countless books.

3. Moreover, its antiquity and huge establishment were sufficient reasons for the invader to regard it as very prosperous and therefore a good bait for attack.

---

1. *Tabakāt-I Nasiri*, Elliot, *History of India*, II, p. 306.
2. Samaddar, o.c., p. 162.
3. Tārānatha, o.c., p. 56.
4. Samaddar, o.c., p. 161.

Likewise, we would suggest the year A.D. 1205-1206, as the probable date of the *Vihāra's* destruction. Samaddar gives two reasons for the year A.D. 1199.

1. Magadha (Bihar) was attacked after the eightieth year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era. As the Lakṣmaṇa era had its commencement in 1199, the date of the conquest falls in A.D. 1199.

2. The colophon of *Pañcakara* in the library of the University of Cambridge contains the fact that Odantapuri was destroyed in the 38th year of the King Govindapāladeva. As Govindapāladeva's accession dates from A.D. 1161, the date of destruction of these monasteries comes to 1199 A.D.[1]

Our reasons for placing the event in 1205 A.D. or 1206 A.D. are as under :

From the study of *Tabakāt-I-Nasari*, we find firstly that Bakhtiyar went to Sultan Kutbuddin to pay him his respects after the conquest of Bihar. And Kutbuddin was made a Sultan after the death of Sultan Ghazi by Sultan Ghiyasuddin. And after becoming a Sultan, in 1205 A.D., he marched to Lahore, while Bakhtiyar seems to have visited him after Kutbuddin was well-established as a Sultan on the throne of Delhi. Secondly, we learn that Kutbuddin died in 607 H, i.e., 1210[2], and the chronicler further tells us that he wore the crown for more than 4 years, that is, from about A.D. 1205 which exactly synchronises with his march upon Lahore in 1205 A.D. as Sultan. Kutbuddin thus seems to have had the Sultanate in or about 1205 A.D. ; and as Bakhtiyar Khilji was honoured by Kutbuddin as a Sultan, the invasion, therefore, of Bihar approximately took place in or about 1205 or 1206 A.D.

Hence Nālandā was destroyed by the Mohammedans in or about 1205 A.D.

---

[1] Samaddar, o.c., p. 161.

[2] Elliot, o.c., p. 301.

The tradition cited from *Pag-sam-jonzang* about the final annihilation of Nālandā by fire may be true, for, while excavating the Nālandā-site, heaps of ashes and charcoals are unearthed, even on the topmost levels after the removal of layers of earth which cover up various sites.[1]

But this regeneration was not and could not be effective. The Moslem sword had so much frightened the people and the damage done, material as well as culture, was so great that even though the counter-blast in the shape of fire had not come, we doubt very much if the University would have once again attained its heights. Only one fact will suffice to convince the reader. We are told that all the monks were butchered and there was none left to decipher any book from the vast and unique library. Thus, even those monks who survived the Moslem avalanche, would never dare to enter the portals of their once beloved institution. They must all have fled and did actually fly away to the unknown and remote corners of India : while others went to foreign lands "to find pastures new" for the propagation and transplantation of the remains of the Buddhistic culture.[2]

The Moslem invasion, therefore, appears to be the immediate cause of the destruction of Nālandā. Thus, did Nālandā which treasured the culture coming down from the times of Buddha, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Śāntarakṣita, Dīpaṁkara in its three storeyed libraries, and which for a thousand years diffused knowledge among Indians and spread it to the distant lands of Java, Sumatra, China and Japan, meet its end.

However, there is some evidence, almost contemporary, as we have noted above at various places that the University was not completely destroyed, nor fully deserted by the

---

1. See *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1921-22, p. 20.
2. Cf. Tāranatha, o.c., p. 94. He observes, "In Nālandā, much damage was done and the priests fled abroad." While at another place, p. 261, he says, "when Magadha was conquered the scholars went out and spread the doctrine everywhere."

pandits and students. For in A.D. 1234 the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin dared to pay a visit to Bodh Gayā and at Nālandā he noticed that though some buildings were damaged, others had escaped destruction. And in these lived the Mahā-Paṇdita Rāhulaśrībhadra, four other pandits and about 70 other monks. The most heartening fact he tells us is that the higher and deeper study of grammar was still pursued. But the threats of sudden attack from "Turuṣkas" were always there.

Even while he was studying there "suddenly some 300 Turuṣka soldiers appeared, armed and ready for battle. Though they were sure to kill them, they did not find them and went back. The two lay-supporters (of the Guru) were put in irons for several days, but then were set free."

Under these conditions no institution can continue for long. Probably after the death of Paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhadra, even the few monks who had continued their study of grammar might have left.

Chapter XI

Nālandā To-Day

In the chapter on "The Rise of Nālandā," we gave an account of the construction of the University by various kings. That account, however, so far as details of the buildings are concerned, was not sufficient. This chapter, therefore, is intended, firstly, to give some idea of these details; secondly, to see if we can identify the various buildings referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in the plan of the University prepared in the light of the excavations.

Once a smiling city, shining with the light of hundreds of jewels, grand with its *chaityas*, towering turrets and *vihāras*, the abode of scholars and priests, Nālandā to-day is but a faint shadow of its past glory and splendour. Its present site is amidst long stretches of fields, interspered here and there with mango-trees and huge mounds, at some places, each standing in splendid isolation from the other, and at others, several of them are found in such close proximity of each other as to suggest one continuous hill.

It was these mounds many of which are now unearthed and stand out as monasteries which, first, drew the attention of General Cunningham. He carried on some superficial excavations and from the finds that he discovered, he identified the site with the ancient seat of learning, Nālandā. But not content with a mere general identification, each mound, each temple or relic was assigned its original name with the help of Hiuen Tsiang's account of the place.[1] The history of the rebuilding of Nālandā, thus, dates back to about 1861.

But the regular work of excavating the site was not undertaken until 1915, when the entire site was, first, measured. It extends, as described by the *Report*, some 1600 feet north-south, by some 800 feet east-west and comprises a long range of monasteries on the east side, and a corresponding range of *stūpas* on the west, with a couple of monasteries to bound the area on the south. Between the ranges of *stūpas* and monasteries to west and east runs the central approach avenue from the north.[2] The Nālandā of Mediaeval times, however, unquestionably extended far beyond the limits of the site so far acquired for excavation.

Now, for the sake of convenience and of understanding, the whole area has been divided and classified into various sites.

Of the many buildings (called monasteries) which are, to be precise, about eleven, that have been excavated, the side of the monastery No. 1 seems to be the oldest. No less than 9 successive levels are visible.[3] And, within the course of about 8 centuries, it must have been built over at least 5 times.[4] This is proved by the remains discovered at each new level. On the lowest level—the 9th—was found a brick-paving, a wall on the 8th, a *cabutrā* on the 7th, and quadrangles on the other four levels. The upper levels reveal very amusing as well as curious things. There is a staircase, which leads us to the topmost level,[5] the only remnant of which is a verandah running on the four sides. Originally this parlour must have formed part of the *bhikṣus* cells,

---

1. For a detailed description, see *A.S.R.I.*, (1861) p. 28.
2. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1925-26, p. 100.
3. *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 104.
4. *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 11.
5. See pl. IC.

which can even now be traced from the existence of stone-coaches and niches, in the now open spaces immediately after the parlour.

The main use of the stair-case was perhaps to go to fetch water from a well on the stratum just below it. Besides this well, there is a very curious brick structure in the middle of the courtyard of this second monastery.[1] In the *cabutrā* was found inset a couple of long duplicate panels carved in relief with a representation of a bird-bodied human figure revering a lotus plant from the 6th or 7th century A.D.[2]

One question that strikes us regarding this monastery is whether it was a storeyed building. From Hiuen Tsiang's account it appears that Nālandā did have some buildings which had at least 3 to 4 storeys.[3] From various reasons given below we are inclined to think that not only monastery No. 1 was a storeyed building, but it was perhaps the highest of all other similar buildings. The reasons are : (1) the discovery of a well and wide dog-legged stair-case, which show a daily connection with the building beneath. (2) The thickness of the walls, which indicates that the walls were purposely made thick so as to build other storeys above them. (3) What we now call different levels of occupation at different periods were in fact various floors of the same building (we do not mean all the 9 levels) and occupied at the same time. The reason for so interpreting the various levels is that the nine levels otherwise presupposes as many destructions, which was never the case. The buildings were destroyed at the most thrice or four times and not as many as nine times. (4) Lastly, the discovery of a stone column-base in monastery No. 4 seems to be conclusive evidence of the existence of at least a second storey in this monastery.[1] Hence monastery No. 1 also had storeys, and very likely the greatest number, as would appear from a series of levels.

---

[1] For a fuller description See *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1916-17, Part I, p. 15.

[2] See plate (VIIa), *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 19.

[3] Cf. Hwui Li, *o.c.*, p. 1-9, where we are told that Hiuen Tsiang went to the college of Bālāditya...having four storeys.

Monastery No. 1 gives us a good idea of the room in which the *bhikṣus* stayed. As soon as we enter the monastery from the centre of the west wall, we first meet with a grand stair-case, 32 feet wide and projecting some 38 feet.[2] After this, comes the interior wall. Along this wall, on all the four sides, are rows of chambers, which vary very slightly in size but average some 10 feet square. These latter are each provided with two bed recesses, measuring 6′ 9″ in length, while two square niches appear in the square in the chambers at the north-west and south-east corners. And, in front of the chambers, there is a continuous walk or terrace.[3]

It would be evident from the above that the ancient students, unlike the modern, had no separate bed-steads. Moreover, the rooms alloted to them were, comparatively, very small.

From the description of the student's rooms let us pass on to the general nature of the buildings, other than temples or *vihāras*.

The *saṅghārāmas* or monastic establishments at Nālandā all conform to a common type. They form a rectangle in a plane bounded by an outer range of cells or cubicles, with an open verandah, running round their inner face and enclosing a quadrangular court. Sometimes, the verandah is a colonnaded structure, and in other instances, partakes of the form of a terrace open to the sky. The exterior walls were apparently quite plain with the exception of a simple plinth moulding or string course dividing the facade, and

---

1. For a detailed argument see *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 133.
2. Pl. IX.
3. The description has been given *mutatis mutandis* from *J.B.O.R.S.*, IX, Part I, pp. 8-9.

may or may not have contained windows. The light was obtained through the door-opening on to the inner verandah.[1]

We need not go through the details of other monastery buildings. It will suffice, if the more important aspects of each are referred to.

Next to the monastery No. 1, is the monastery designated as IA. Something peculiar about this monastery is that in the centre are two parallel rows of hearths, seven in number, connected by a common duet or corbel construction about 2 feet high. The same feature is found in the eastern verandah. Pandit Hiranand Sastri, who excavated it, thought that the hearths might have been used for preparing "*rasas*" or drugs, in which case, the building might have been a medical seminary or "*Bhiṣakśālā.*"[2]

We, however, think that these hearths might as well have been used for cooking purposes, for in the two chambers on the east, were found heaps of decayed rice and oats. Hence, it is possible that the chambers were used as store-rooms, and these, naturally, would be very close to the kitchen. But these are mere suggestions, for, wonderfully enough, the rooms on the north of these so called "kitchen" and "store-rooms" yielded a number of stone and bronze Tantric images. Therefore it is very hazardous to say what the building was used for.

Of the remaining monasteries that have been excavated, No. 6 is important from this point of view that it is a large one measuring some 150 ft. by 120 ft. along the walls and the height to which these walls were refaced were about 8 ft. The photograph will give a very good idea of the whole building.[3]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S.* IX, Part I, p. I4.

[3] See pl. X.

As the excavations proceed, newer and newer sites become visible. So, as the *Report* says, "the range of monasteries thus revealed along the eastern boundary of Nālandā comprises ten buildings, and the northern limit of the area cuts across an eleventh monastery, as the range continues towards the Burgaon village".[1]

Amongst other interesting and important buildings that have been unearthed, those worth noting are *stūpa*—site No.3, and the stone-temple and another structure at the northern extremity of the range of *stūpa* mounds, which was identified by General Cunningham with Bālāditya's temple.

Stūpa No. 3 forms the southern end of the western *stūpa* range and it is on the east of the monasteries No. 1 and I A. The main *stūpa* stands surrounded in the court by a large number of smaller *stūpas*, built one over the other on the same spot.[2] And it has been now ascertained that no less than 7 *stūpas* were erected, one over the other. The builders never cared to demolish the old ones, but went on building one over the other. And this is not only a special feature of Nālandā *stūpas* where this feature is repeated in the monastery buildings as well, but also of many other stūpa structures.

Other characteristics of this site are: the fine stair that has been disclosed, almost intact, leading to the topmost level, giving a beautiful view of the ancient lakes of the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha, the whole University area, and far off in the distance, the village of Burgaon.

There are numerous votive *stūpas* all scattered about the main *stūpa*. Some of them are decorated with the stucco figures of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara etc. "One of these little votive *stūpas* is of unusual interest; attached to it, on the

---

1. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 134.
2. See pl. XI.

east face, is a little porch-like shrine containing fragments of a very *kaccha* stucco image, and this little shrine is roofed over with a perfect little barrel-vault in brick." Pre-Mohammedan certainly as it is, a beautiful example of a Hindu-vault of arch construction.[1]

It may be that this *stūpa* is the identical one referred to by Hiuen Tsiang thus : "To the south of this statue is a *stūpa*, in which are the remains of a Buddha's hair and nails cut during three months. Those persons afflicted with children's complaints coming here and turning round religiously are mostly healed."[2]

The reasons for the suggestons are :

1. Even up to this day there is a beautiful statue of a Boddhisattva.
2. Exposition of the lowest of this particular *stūpa* and storey, the *Report* says, formed a terrace about the upper portion of the *stūpa* and served as a "*pradakṣiṇā*" way.[3]

The mound at the extreme end of the *stūpa* range is not completely excavated. The work is still going on. Therefore, it is very difficult to say whether it is the temple of Bālāditya as identified by Cunningham.[4]

It however comprises a very large area. There are two or three courtyards on different levels of elevation, and within the courtyards there are small *stūpas* and images. But, as we

---

1. See *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 131.
2. Hiuen Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 173. From the great height of the *stūpa*, the figure of Bodhisattva, etc., it appears that it is the same *stūpa* ascribed by I-Tsing to Bālāditya thus, "Northwards, 50 paces is a great *stūpa* even higher than the other ; this was built by Bālāditya very much reverenced—in it is a figure of Buddha turning the wheel of the law." Beal, *J.R.A.S.*, XIII (NS.) p. 572.
3. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 128.
4. *A.S.I.*, 1861.

have already said we must wait for more information to pronounce any definite judgment as to the site.

From this, we pass on to the stone-temple.

"The entrance to the temple was up a low flight of steps on the east. The centre of each facade is relieved by a slight projection: but the feature of special interest here is a dado of 211 sculptured panels, over the exterior base moulding. These panels are symmetrically disposed around the facades, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance and 19 in each of the three divisions of the remaining walls. The pilasters which separate the panels are decorated with the familiar pot-and-foliage design; and are surmounted by arches carved in trefoil shape, certain of them being of pointed form. Some of the panels have weathered away, while others seem to have been left unfinished. The dado of panels is surmounted by a double cornice, the lower moulding being relieved at intervals with replicas of the arched fronts of *chaityas* alternated by wellcarved geese: and the upper, of which the greater part is missing, is decorated with larger replicas of the same *chaitya* motif; birds of various kinds posed in diverse ways appearing in the intervals, between them. In a few places, there are signs of a third cornice of greater prominence, in one case portraying a human head within an arch. This third cornice was, however, either never finished or subsequently ruined before the present brick walling here was erected. There is a pleasing variety of sculpture which is figured in the panels of the dado; human couples in amorous postures; representations of *Makaras* scroll foliage and geometrical patterns; again, elaborately dressed women seated in pairs; *Kinnaras* playing on musical instruments; a snakecharmer, etc. The sculptures of deities include Śiva and Pārvatī in separate panels; or together in one; there the goddess turns aside in fear, on beholding the terrific form of her spouse; Kārtikeya with the peacock, Gaja-Lakṣmī, the gods Agni and Kuvera, the *Kacchappa Jātaka* cleverly represented, and there are scenes depicting archery. In other panels, men and women appear in controlled attitudes, and a monstrous lion is depicted, its long neck towering over a smaller beast which has a curiously porcine look. 'Many are occupied', says Dr. Spooner of these panels, 'with merely decorative devices some of which were of extreme beauty and fascination. One shows a design based upon the hexagon which Sir John Marshall tells me, was supposed, like the pointed arch to be exclusively of Moslem inspiration in this country. while others show a great variety of intricate and altogether charming geometrical designs. Perhaps the strangest are those panels, which represent apparently folding doors or gates, where one wing of the gate is shown to be closed, while the other half is rendered open by the simple device of not sculpturing it at all, but letting one-half of the figure within appear to view. One panel is entirely taken up with the heraldic mask so popular in Gupta art and in the art of later times, down to the coming of the Moslems. Another shows a human-headed bird with very flowery tail, the whole having a curiously Burmese look about it, A very heraldic pheasant sort of bird is strutling like any jackdaw or Rheims in another, swining triumphantly an inverted *Vajra* in his beak.

"The outside stone plinth having been cleared, Dr. Spooner came to some foundation stones, on which the superstructure rests, and still lower down to what appeared to be a brick pavement a few feet wide. at the edge of which, a trench was dug down some 8 ft, From the evidence disclosed in this operation, it became clear that the stone-temple above was a much later structure erected over an older brick building ; and as the panels of the plinth, according to Dr. Spooner, are assignable to about the sixth or seventh century A.D., it would appear that these materials were taken from an older building and utilized in the other strata, disclosed in the Nālandā area, postulates a considerably later date for it. Dr. Spooner continues : "The exquisite quality of the carvings shows that their date must have been not far distant from Imperial Gupta times."

"The external dimensions of the temple are 118 ft. by 102 ft., but nothing definite can be said of the interior plan, until further clearance is carried out. The usual position of the sanctum is covered with debris of huge stones, and except two chambers, one on each side of the entrance, nothing can yet be made out. Fragments of the crowning *amalaka*, and various stone members used in the construction of the temple, are lying about the debris-covered remains."[1]

Can this temple be the Brass-temple referred to by Hiuen Tsiang's biographer?[2] The reasons for this suggestion are :—(1) The structure built of stone could well bear the weight of brass-plate, (2) such a brass canopy would be a fitting finish to a temple which was so richly ornamented with decorations ; (3) the temple is just in the neighbourhood of the monastery which is perhaps the monastery built by Harṣa (the king of Central India).[3] Lastly, the panels of the plinth, according to Spooner,[4] are assignable to about the sixth or seventh century A.D., which is exactly the time when the temple was built by Harṣa.

The area of the University must have extended on its east to the village of Burgaon, as the whole village appears to be situated on a huge mound and numerous images of the Buddhist pantheon lie scattered about, in field, under trees and on the roadside of the village. How far it spread on the west it is difficult to say, for there are numerous mounds very near monastery No. 1 and Stūpa-site No. 3, which still remain unearthed. This still extend the area by half a mile or so. But, after these mounds, crossing the fields and at a distance of about a mile and a half, there is a huge statue of Buddha, a photograph of which appears on another page.[1] The statue, itself stands on a high mound, which is covered over by numerous remains of ancient pottery. This is suggestive of the fact that the mound contains under its womb remnants of some old building dating far back to Nālandā times. The statue, also, must have been there from the time of its first inception, as its very size makes it almost immovable. Possibly, then the Nālandā of ancient times might have also extended to this village.

---

[1] *J.B.O.R S.*, IX, Pt. I, pp. 16-18.
[2] Hwui, Li., o.c., p. 159.
[3] Hiuen Tsiang. o.c., II, p. 170
[4] See *J.B.O.R.S.*, IX, Pt. I, p. 17.

Let us now see if we can identify the *saṅghārāmas*, *vihāras* and *stūpas* attributed by Hiuen Tsiang to various kings in the plan of the excavations called hereafter "PE".

According to Hiuen Tsiang :

(i) Kumāragupta I built a *saṅghārāma* by the side of a tank on the lucky spot (o.c. II, p. 168). This *saṅghārāma* very probably is M.IB[2] of "PE" as it is situated by the side of the lakes, and very nearly to their south. And the *Stūpa* No. 3 which lies between the lakes and the monastery, seems to be there even before the building was constructed by Kumāragupta I. According to the *A.S.R.*, however, M. 1 appears to be the oldest.

(ii) Skandagupta built a *saṅghārāma* to the south of the one above (*Ibid*). This *saṅghārāma* then will correspond with M.IA of "PE".

(iii) Puragupta built a *saṅghārāma* to the east of this (*Ibid*). This will correspond with M.1 of "PE"

(iv) Kumāragupta II built another on the west. (*Ibid*. p. 170). This will correspond with M.6 of "PE" though we said before that it was probably constructed by Harṣa.

(v) Harṣa built another great *Saṅghārāma* to the north of this (*Ibid*). The Life of *Hiuen Tsiang* says it was built by the side of the one built by Kumāragupta II. (p. III). M.7 of "PE" perhaps is the one that was built by Harṣa, though the vastness of M. 6 and its proximity to "Temple 2" leads us to think that it was M. 6 and not M. 7 that was built by Harṣa.

---

[1] See Chap. VI, pl. II.

[2] See pl. XV.

Buildings other than *saṅghārāmas* are:

(1) A *vihāra* on the western side of the *saṅghārāma* and at no great distance from it. (o.c., II, p. 172).

The big *stūpa* mound lying immediately to the west of M. 7 is probably the *vihāra* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. The fact that "PE" calls it a *stūpa* mound need not deter us from identifying it with Hiuen Tsiang's *vihāra*, because it is not excavated yet, and the only reason for calling it a *stūpa* is that it falls in the line of *Stūpa* No.3 and the one at the northern extremity.

(2) A small *stūpa* 100 paces or so to the south (*Ibid.*) probably of the above mentioned *vihāra*.

(3) A standing figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva on the southern side of the above (*Ibid.*).

Even at present, though it is not shown in "PE", there stand a small *stūpa* and the figure which now lies close by *Stūpa* No. 3.

(4) To the south of this statue stands a *stūpa* in which are the remains of Buddha's hair and nails. (*Ibid.*, p. 173). We think that this *stūpa* is identical with *Stūpa* No. 3, firstly, because, it is almost to the south of the figure and again to its west lies the lake as described by Hiuen Tsiang (*Ibid.*).

So far Hiuen Tsiang's account conforms to with the plan of the excavations.

But the following buildings present some difficulty in their identification.

"Next to the east" continues Hiuen Tsiang, "there is a great *Vihāra* about 200 feet high." It is hard to locate this. The unexcavated ruins to the east of M.1 may contain within their womb the remnants of this huge *vihāra*.

Of the remaining buildings, the most important ones are: The great *vihāra*, about 300 feet high, lying to the north of the *vihāra* which contained a figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, built by Narasiṁhagupta (*Ibid.*), and the *vihāra* of brass built by Harṣa.

The only building in "PE" with which any of these *vihāra* can be identified is the Stone-Temple, 2. We have previously identified it with the brass temple of Harṣa, and have adduced reasons for the same. Therefore we cannot identify it with the *vihāra* of Narsiṁhagupta.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to make a distinction between "*saṅghārāma*" and a "*vihāra*." It is difficult to understand his distinction. We have taken "vihāra" to mean a "Temple" and a "saṅghārāma" as it literally means, a place where the *saṅgha*, the students, stayed and is something like our present day college-hostel, with this difference that the former was much more than a hostel. In fact, a *saṅghārāma* stood for a hostel, a college and a chapel at the same time.

The wall referred to by Hiuen Tsiang remains uptil now a puzzle. We tried hard to find traces of it, but could not find any remains of it. The only way to explain its non-recovery appears to be this: that, in the time of the Pālas, the University outgrew itself and in order to make room for newer buildings. the physical boundaries were broken down.

However, excavations are still proceeding. There yet remain some mounds in the south-west of monastery No. I and to the east of monastery No. II in "PE." Let us, therefore, hope that when these will be unearthed the remains of the extinct walls might become visible, besides throwing fresh light on the arrangement of the buildings.

Chapter XII

The Art And Architecture Of Nālandā As Revealed From Its Finds

Excavations at Nālandā have brought to light such unusual finds that they make a very interesting and instructive study. The finds consist of inscriptions—copper and stone; images—bronze, stone and plaster ; architectural specimens such as *stūpas*, niches, walls, drains, etc.

The importance of epigraphical finds has been dealt with in its proper place. So also the iconographical value of various images has been discussed, while speaking about "Ritualism." Here we propose to discuss the value of the different kinds of sculptures, from the point of view of art and Nālandā's contribution to its development, and also to take note of the various Nālandā-buildings, as architectural models.

Nālandā, as shown in earlier chapters, occupied a unique position in the development of Indian thought. Its position in the development of Indian art was no less unique. Native artists, by the time Nālandā came into prominence had so assimilated the various elements—Pre-Maurian, Graeco-Bectrian, Persian, Mathura, Amaravati and the like, that they could carve out an image of Buddha, which was independent of all the previous production.[1] This was during the time of the Guptas.

But if Nālandā inherited a rich and varied legacy, it left to posterity a style of art that was at once indigenous and one of the best specimens of Indian art. Religion, consisting of ritualism was the root cause of the birth of this school of art. From agnostic a theism Buddhism had passed on to partial theism in the shape of Mahāyāna. Besides Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, Hārīti and other gods and goddesses had entered into the Buddhist pantheon.[2] With the advent of Tantrayāna in about the seventh or eight century, Buddhism, became thoroughly theistic. This Tantrayāna, as it advocated the worship of god-heads, could not be realized by the devotee unless he could visualize them as positive entities. This desire for the outward manifestation of the god-heads brought forth the creative instinct, which found expression first in colour, then in stone and finally in bronze. But the artist—the religious artist—it appears, confined himself primarily to the representation of the mood in which he imagined the deity. We hardly meet with floral representations—except for the lotus stalk and the flower. Scenes from Buddha's life do not attract him so much as before, though we have a beautiful specimen of this kind in a bronze *stūpa*.[3]

Each image and its bodily posture of hands, feet, etc. have a spiritual significance.[4] "The *Vajraparyaṅka* attitude" says Bhattacharyya, "signifies meditation; the *Arḍhaparyaṅka* and *Lalitāsana* signify serenity; the *Aliḍha* heroism; the

---

1. see Coomaraswami, *His. of Ind. and Indo. Art*, p. 74.
2. See Grunwedel *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 94.
3. See pl. XVI and *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1927-28, pl. XLIV.
4. We do not mean that the early representations of Buddha and others had no spiritual significance. For, as Coomaraswamy *Intro. to Ind. Art*, Introduction, p. vii) says, "Indian Art has always an intelligible meaning and a definite purpose."

Pratyālīḍha destruction and loathness, and the dancing attitude" in *Ardhaparyaṅka* signifies wrath and horror." The *Yabyum* image (that is, representation of a god and goddess in close embrace) has a deep spiritual significance. "It signifies that the god, the embodiment of *Śūnya* represents perfection, having attained *Śūnya* (*Karuṇā*) and therefore the highest stage of *Nirvāṇa*.[1]

Now this art, which mainly embraces images of god-heads from man-size statues to the tiny ones in stone, and bronze is called the Pāla Art, because the majority of the images that have been discovered bear the name of one or the other of Pāla Kings.[2] But we may as well call it "The Nālandā Art," for its origin was due to a system of religion which flourished at Nālandā. The chief characteristics of this art have been well described by Chatterji thus : "It is an art generally of stately repose and contemplative calm, although the dynamic and the demoniac are not wanting. But the essential tone of the entire school may be said to be static. Pāla art lacks the vastness and the dynamic quality—the epic imagination and the vigour and nobility of—execution of the Pallava bas-relief art at Mahabalipuram; neither does it possess the super-majesty of Śiva Panels at Elephanta. Not being of the vast proportions of these latter, Pāla sculpture cannot attain to their height. The Pāla sculptors again did not care much for the life around them. The devotee's contemplation of the deity whom he passionately adores : this evidently was the inspiration of the artist...Then, again, in Pāla art, there was not the frank delight in flesh and in the pleasures of the fresh...Woman's beauty evidently did not move the Pāla artists so much, although some exquisitely modelled Lakṣmīs and Tārās[3] and other female divinities attest the power of the Pāla sculpture in this line; and rarely very rarely indeed, do we find an erotic scene……."[1] Commenting on the iconographic interpretation of the Pāla images, the same writer observes, "His (the artists) purpose seemed to be to prepare a plastic commentary on the *Sāstras* (i.e. the *Sādhanas*); yet it was not wholly so. His hand could transform the conventional image of a god or goddess into something of a living divinity; with an ineffable smile and an aspect of infinite kindliness, which is characteristic of Indian art at its best; or into an avenging god, who is the embodiment of terror...Even when the goddess is slaying the demon she has a look of pity in her face. And here too there is nothing of the dynamic in the act; the violent action is not suggested, but it is of the deity, appearing at a certain stage in the act of killing the demon and making a pause in it, as if to give a vision of herself to her worshipper. A contemplative repose with the suggestion of infinite grace[2] a figure such as would present itself before the ecstatic vision of a devoted worshipper, this is what shines through Pāla sculpture in its most common form."[3]

---

[1] Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 161.

[2] See French, *The Art of the Pala Impire*, pp. xi-xiii.

[3] See pl. V ; French, *o.c.*, pl. XII for a sand-stone figure of Tārā, showing infinite grace and beautiful poise of the body.

Other features not referred to are the delicacy of carving and high relief. Perhaps the material—which consisted of black basalt, stone, and bronze—enabled the artist to work out fine details and give a lasting polish to his products.[4]

---

[1] This is perfectly true, in spite of the fact that we meet with representations of the divinities in close embrace as in *Yabyum* image. But, the artist's aim in these sculptures, as we said above, is to suggest the attainment of *Śūnya* and not physical pleasure.

[2] See the figure of Nāgārjuna from Nālandā, pl. XIV.

[3] Chatterji, *The Pala Art of Gauda and Magadha, Modern Review*, XLVII, p. 86. Other characteristic features of the Pala Art, noticed in bronze figures are : The loops of a fillet with which the crown is tied, or which is merely an ornament and secondly, European pose or *Pralambāsana* in the images of Bodhisattvas besides Buddhas. Cr. Kempers, *o.c.*, pp. 50 and 28, respectivly.

[4] See the image of Bodhisattva from Nālandā, now in the *I.H.R.I.* Bombay, pl. II.

Such was the Art of Nālandā.

The area directly influenced by the Art of Nālandā in India may be comparatively smaller than that either by the Gupta in the fifth or Rāṣṭrakuṭa or Pallava in the sixth century onwards.[1] But, after becoming generally common in Magadha (the modern province of Bihar), it spread in the east to Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, China, and in the north to Nepal and Tibet. The following quotation from Tārānātha will bear out the truth of the latter statement: "In the time of King Dharmapāla, there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhīmān, whose son was Bitpalo; both of these produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled in the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern School; those of the Magadha were called followers of the Madhyadeśa School of painting. So in Nepal, the earlier schools of art resembled the Western School; but in course of time, a peculiar Nepalese School was formed, which, in painting and casting, resembled the Eastern types."[2]

With regard to its spread in Java, Kempers, who has made a detailed study of the bronzes found at Nālandā and Java, establishes the theory almost conclusively.

Explaining, first, the causes of Nālandā's artistic influence over the Malay Archipelago, he says that Nālandā, in the beginning, brought to bear its cultural influence over the Archipelago, for "among the consistent parts of Hindu-Javanese culture, one of its essential features, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* originates from Nālandā."[1] In support of this remark, he cites epigraphical evidence. "For in the Malaya inscription of Crivijaya found at Talang Toewo and dated in the year 648 A.D.," he says, "there occur some terms which are of a distinctly Mahāyānist character. M.G. Coedes[2] has proved that they belong to the sphere of the Vajrayāna or Tantrayāna which arose at Nālandā from the Yogācāra school at a time not long anterior to that of the inscription of Talang Toewo." "So we may take it for established," says Kempers, "that Nālandā has exercised a great influence on the religious life in Malay Archipelago," and further (because of the close epigraphical similarities, of the Pāla and Java inscriptions), that the relation between the Nālandā monastery and the Archipelago must have been continuous.[3]

---

[1] With regard to the influence of Pāla Art, Grousset (referred to by Kempers, *o.c.*, p. 77) says in an article in the "Etudes d' Orientalisme la memoire de Raymonde Libossier" that this school had an influence not inferior to that of the art of Gāndhāra and of the Gupta Empire.

[2] Tārānātha, *o.c.*, p. 280.

Having thus proved that the Mahāyāna of Java was from Nālandā, he proceeds to ascertain by a detailed examination of various images found at Nālandā and Java, the syllogistic conclusion whether or no, the Java temples show the artistic influence of Nālandā, as the Java temples were Mahāyānists.[4]

He takes, first, the different kinds of images of Buddha, and says that the Buddhas in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* of Java conform in the main to those of Nālandā, but the type of the standing Buddha of Nālandā[5] is not represented in Hindu-Javanese art.[6] So also the images of Maitreya, found at

---

[1] See Kempers, *Nālandā Bronzes*, p. 3.

[2] Coedes, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXX, 1930.

[3] Kempers, o.c., pp. 4-5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. ; also Stutterheim, *Ramalegenden*, pp. 211-5. referred to by Kempers.

[5] See pl. I.

[6] Kempers, o.c., p. 23.

Nālandā, seem to agree with the representations in Magadha as well as in Java.[1]

After examining many other images of the Buddhist pantheon—Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Jaṁbhala, Tārā etc.—with regard to the influence of Nālandā and Pāla art over the Hindu-Javanese, Kempers says, "The Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general have not developed from Pāla art, but the Pāla images have enriched the art of Java with a number of motifs and types."[2] At the same time he rejects the theory of Dr. Bosch that the bronzes found in Monastery I (at Nālandā) could have been found in Central Java and therefore their characters seem to be purely Hindu-Javanese,[3] but asserts that "the bronzes of Nālandā while partly exhibiting a distinct resemblance to some bronzes from Java, belong to Pāla art."[4]

No paintings have been discovered at Nālandā. Evidently they must have been destroyed by fire. But the libraries of Nepal and Tibet possess MSS. of *Prajñāparamitā* which have beautiful delineation of the goddess in colours and lines.[5]

It may be that these Dhīmān and Bitpalo—the sculptors and painters mentioned by Tārānātha—were teachers of arts and crafts at Nālandā, for the greatest number of cast models are found from Nālandā excavations.

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
3. Summarised from Kempers, *o.c.*, p. 10.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Jayaswal, reviewing the book of Kempers, says that, according to *Manjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, there was a school of art processors who discussed the mysteries and implications of icons, and that several artists travelled to the Islands (i.e. the Indian Archipelago) and decorated monuments and monasteries. See *J.B.O.R.S*, XIX, p. 416.
5. For one of the few remnants of the Pāla painting, see French, *o.c.*, pl. XXIII. It is a Boddhisattva (Siṁhanāda), dated the 15th year of the reign of Gopāla II.

Of the remains of Nālandā buildings, the chief architectural specimens are the *stupas*, the monastery-buildings, and the niches. Among *stūpas*, the most noteworthy is *stūpa* No. 3 and we have already described its peculiarities elsewhere. Unfortunately, none of the repaired *stūpas* is in its complete shape. Hence it is difficult to say of what type the *tops* of these *stūpas* were—whether they resembled in shape the one at Sanchi or the one at Saranath. Probably they resembled the one we have at Saranath, namely the one of a cylindrical type. *Stūpa* No. 3 does not give us a clear idea of even of the ground structure, because so many smaller *stūpas* intervene, that it is difficult to say how the main *stūpa* was constructed. However, the *stūpa* at the northern extremity of the site which is being excavated, certainly, belongs to the cylindrical type, for the cylindrical mass of brickwork rising above the paved quadrangular one, is clearly visible.

Like the Dhamekha *stūpa* at Saranath,[1] *Stūpa* No. 3 at Nālandā contains numerous niches. However, the most wonderful thing is that we have got a beautiful flight of stairs to take us to the highest level.

Perhaps, the smaller *stūpas* strewn about the *Stūpa* No. 3 and the *Stūpa* at the northern extremity may give us some idea of the finished *stūpa*-style at Nālandā. Some have a square base, and then rise cylindrically; others rest on square bases, then rise in a straight rectangular fashion, but, in the middle, become cylindrical. But all are very beautifully decorated with figures of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and with arched niches also containing images of Buddha.[2] One of the varieties of *stūpa*-style, that is complete, is revealed in a bronze *stūpa*, that has been recently discovered. It has a square pedestal with seated figures of Buddha: the second storey contains other representations from Buddha's life. After this, it becomes globular, while right on the top, we have got a Tee.[1] Before we pass on to other architectural peculiarities, we shall refer to one of the small votive *stūpas*. As the *A.S.R.* says, "It is of unusual interest: because this little *stūpa* contains on its side a shrine which is roofed over with a perfect little vault in brick. Thus supplying us with an instance of a Hindu vault of arch construction."[2]

---

[1] For its architectural details we have drawn upon Cocmaraswamy., *His. of Ind. and Indo, Art*, p, 75.

[2] See *A.S.,A.R.*, 1927,-28, pl. VII, (a), (b), (d), and *Ibid.*, 1926-27 pl. VII (a).

In monastery buildings, we only select some of the details of construction, for, otherwise, they have nothing particular about them, the majority of them being rectangular with cells and verandahs. Among these manifold details of construction, we begin with the bricks, The bricks discovered at Nālandā are as big as 15″×10″×3″ quite a contrast to our modern ones that *A.R.S.* has a special comment on them.[3] Even if there were no other evidence, perhaps the bricks would have enabled us to place Nālandā in the later Gupta period, for they are the exact prototype of similar bricks found in buildings which are known to be Gupta.

Another thing, though of little architectural importance, is the manner in which the joints are soldered. Hardly any plaster is visible. Again the width of the staircase unearthed in M. Nos. 1 and 4 and the exquisite polish on the staircase of the *stūpa* No. 3 are but manifestations of the love of grandeur, beauty and symmetry of the architects of the Nālandā buildings. But, if these small details are an index of architects, aesthetic sense, their sense of sanitation and hygiene are evidence from the numerous drains that have been discovered in various monasteries. These drains, wonderfully enough, bear resemblance, on the one hand, to the *pacca* built

---

1. See pl. XVI.
2. See *Ibid.*, 1926-27, pl. 131.

drainage-system of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and on the other, to those of the present day.

The walls of monasteries too are worth noting. Their breadth and solidity are unusual. Here we see the designer's sense of economy as well as of beauty. In Monastery No. 1 that part of the wall which is open to the public gaze is smoothly polished, while the other is left in its crude form.

However, of all the architectural specimens that Nālandā presents to us, its arched niches are of the greatest importance.[1] They have drawn the attention of all the art critics. They present, as Havell remarks,[2] several varieties. None of them, however, conforms to the varieties he has painted out, viz. lotus-leaf and pipal leaf, lotus-leaf with *Makara*, lotus-leaf and *Makara*, lotus-leaf and pipal-leaf.[3] Of those varieties cited and illustrated by Havell, about four in all appear to be in the shape of a pipal-leaf.[4]

Havell, from the recovery of some architectural and sculptural finds at Nālandā remarked: "They (the Universities of Nālandā and Takṣaśilā) were schools of art and crafts."[5] How much more true will this remark appear when Nālandā has yielded within the course of a decade some hundreds of sculptures in bronze, and stone and some of the most unique specimens of arched niches. It is almost impossible to have so many sculptures without a regular school of arts and crafts. The finds at Nālandā pre-suppose such a school, and therein we find the propriety of this chapter in a thesis on a University.

---

[1] See pl. XVII.

[2] Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl, XXIX. The majority of them, however, are in the shape of lotus-leaf. (See *A.S.R.A.R.*, 1927-28, pl. VII).

[4] Havell, o.c., pl. XXX-B.

[5] *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization*, p. 141.

A full architectural discussion of Nālandā buildings, however, can be best had after the excavations are complete and when everything has been restored to its original shape. and place.

Chapter XIII

Conclusions

The educational institutions at Nālandā, though not the product of the combined influence of the East and the West, wonderfully upheld the ideals of the *Gurukulas* and *Viāhras*, of the Vedic and Buddhistic India, at the same time discharging the functions of a seat of universal learning, known as a University in the West.

Nālandā was primarily a Buddhist institution (*Viāhra*), established solely with a view to propogate the preachings of the Enlightened Śākya Prince. In this capacity, it sheltered thousands of *Bhikṣus*, who studied the *dharma* of Buddha day and night. To the Buddhists, Nālandā was nothing short of a Temple of God.

But Nālandā outgrew the limits of a mere *Vihāra* of Buddhist learning. The *Vihāra*, in course of time, taught the tenets and principles not only of Buddhism, but also of many other faiths, besides all the secular sciences. Unlike the University of Paris of Mediaeval Europe, it could boast of a faculty of medicine (*Cikitsāvidyā*).

Nālandā was something more than a mere seat of universal learning. Students flocked to its portals, not only from all the corners of India, but also from the whole of the then civilized world, save perhaps from Greece and Rome. It was a University also in the sense that it attracted students from all parts of the world.

What Newman, however, values most, more than the universal aspect of the curriculum of an educational institution, more than its international representation from all over the world, is a residential University. And Nālandā was nothing if not a residential University, *par excellence*. At Nālandā a multitude of young men—keen, open-hearted, sympathetic and observant—came together, freely mixing with, and learning from one another, even if there was none to teach them. The conversation of all was a lecture to each. Thus the students saw the world on a small field, with little trouble. And, further, by eliminating and adjusting the widely different notions, by acting according to the conventional rules of the institution, the whole assemblage was moulded together and gained one tone and one character.[1]

Nālandā, in this way, performed one of the most important functions, namely, "of enabling the students to form each other, of learning the greatest art of living, in helping to form an intelligent society."[2]

If Nālandā could thus fulfil the highest requisites of a true University, it also claimed a method of teaching which has been regarded as ideal at all times. Besides lectures, students spent a greater portion of their time in mutual discussions with their teachers.

Nālandā, with the pursuit of Theology—the Science of God—as its cardinal aim, with all the advantages that a residential University has, imparted to its students not merely knowledge, but culture that would make its recipients perfect "gentlemen." The students not only gained knowledge but a sense of reverence was also inculcated in them. They were true to the idea of the poet who sang:

"Let knowledge grow from more to more ;
But more of reverence in us dwell."

---

1. See Newman, *Idea of a University*, pp. 146-47.
2. See May Yardely, "*Select Discourses from the Idea of a University*", *Intro.*, p. XXII.

Looked at from all points of view we find that Nālandā fulfils Newman's conception of a University.

How far this University equipped the students to face the stern realities of life, to earn their livelihood, is a question which cannot easily be answered. But in this connection it must be remembered that it is only of late that this function of a University is looked upon with some importance. It is nly in this oage of struggle for existence, with all the grim realities connoted by the phrase that, our commercialism or utilitarianism has come to look upon the University as a job-providing institution. Students went to Nālandā to seek and imbibe culture, not to qualify themselves for posts. The end in view was spiritual and not secular. Men's wants were fewer, and fewer men went in for higher knowledge. Consequently there was no overcrowding in any walk of life. Moreover, the whole environment in which the University worked was fundamentally different. Prescribed trades and professions, corresponding to the fourfold division of society, practically, limited the aspirations to superior occupations only to a small number.

Nālandā, hence, had not to answer the charge levelled against modern Universities, that they do not equip the students with the qualities necessary to face the problems of practical life as it had not to cater to men's practical and mundane needs. This had a very salutary effect. The university was free to develop the cultural side of knowledge imparted to its students, whereby it could envisage a mighty spiritual horizon.

Thus, in the words of I-Tsing, Nālandā could claim to be "the most magnificent Temple of Learning in Jambudvīpa" or to use a modern phrase, the premier and pioneer National University ot India.

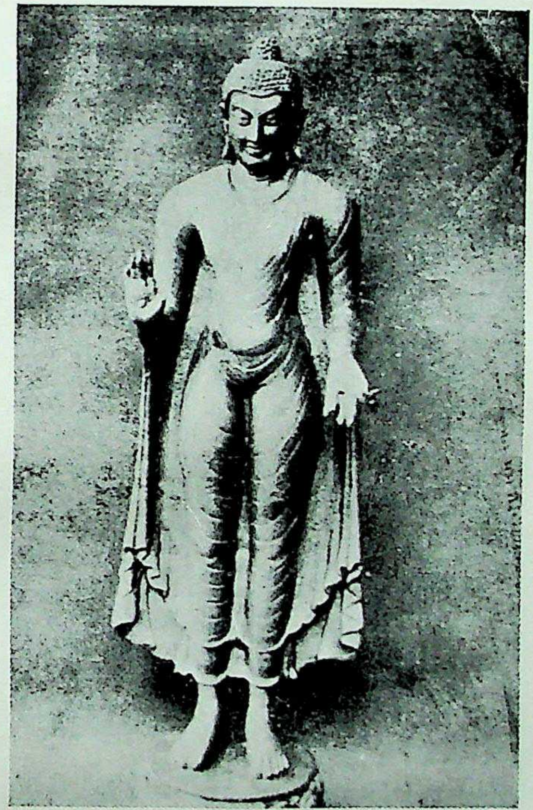


Fig. 1. Buddha (Bronze) from Nālandā

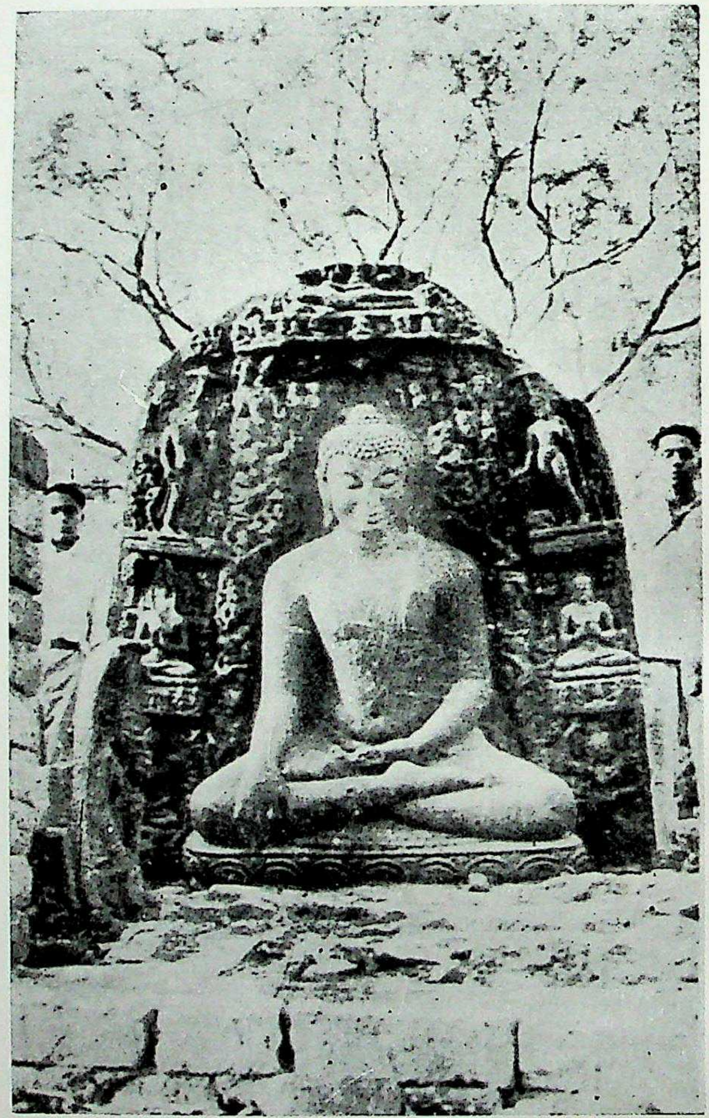


Fig. 2. Figure of Buddha depicting scenes from his life, from Jagdishpur near Nālandā

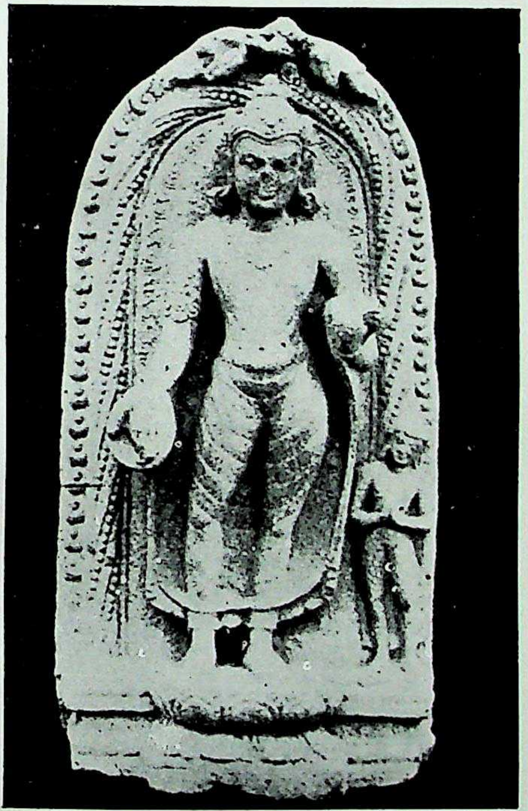


Fig. 3. Maitreya from Nālandā

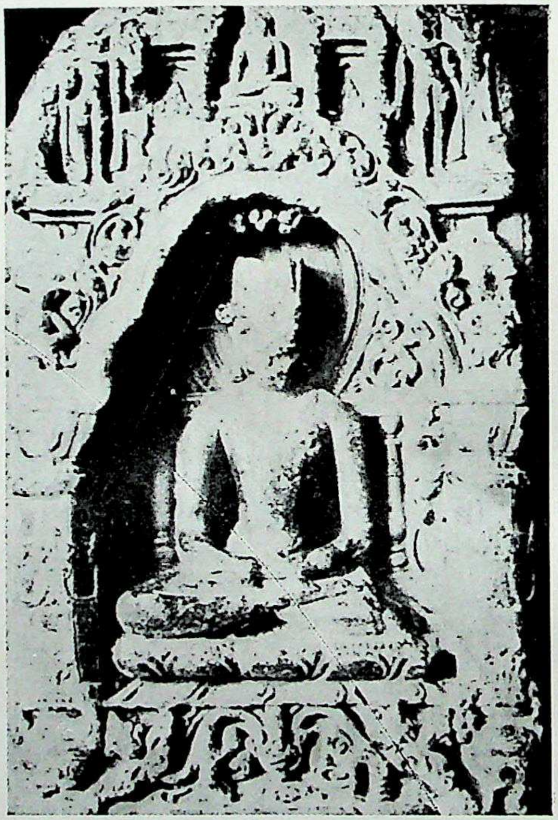


Fig. 4. Bodhisattva in *Dhyānī Mudrā* (?) from Nālandā
[Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay]

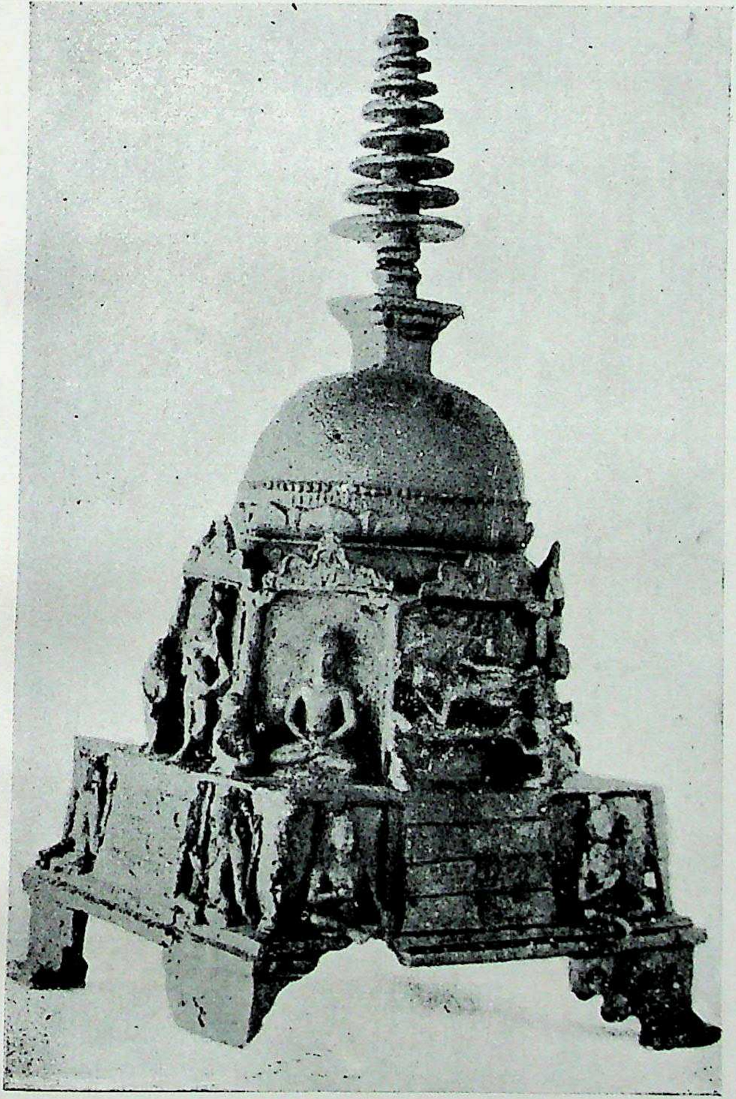


Fig. 5. Bronze Stūpa from Monastery No. 1, Nālandā

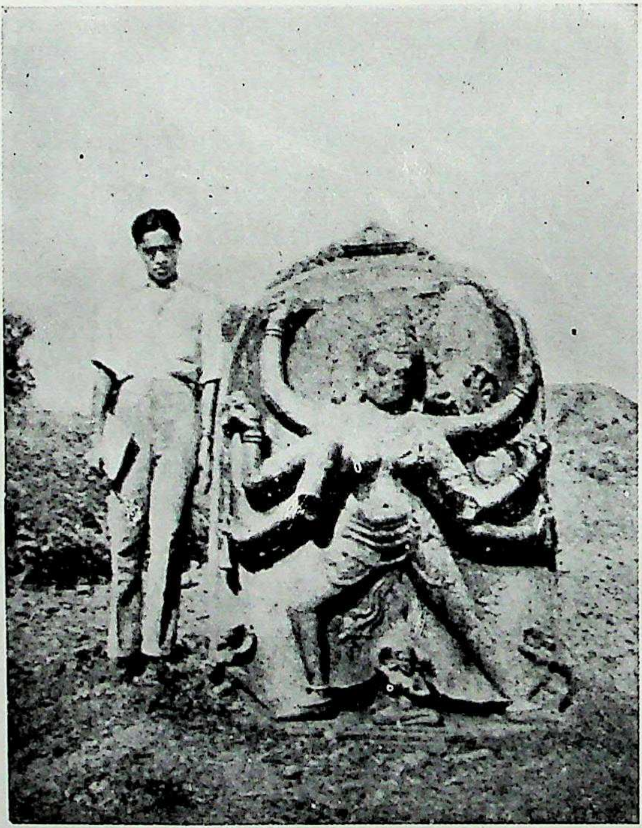


Fig. 6. *Mārīcī* from Nālandā

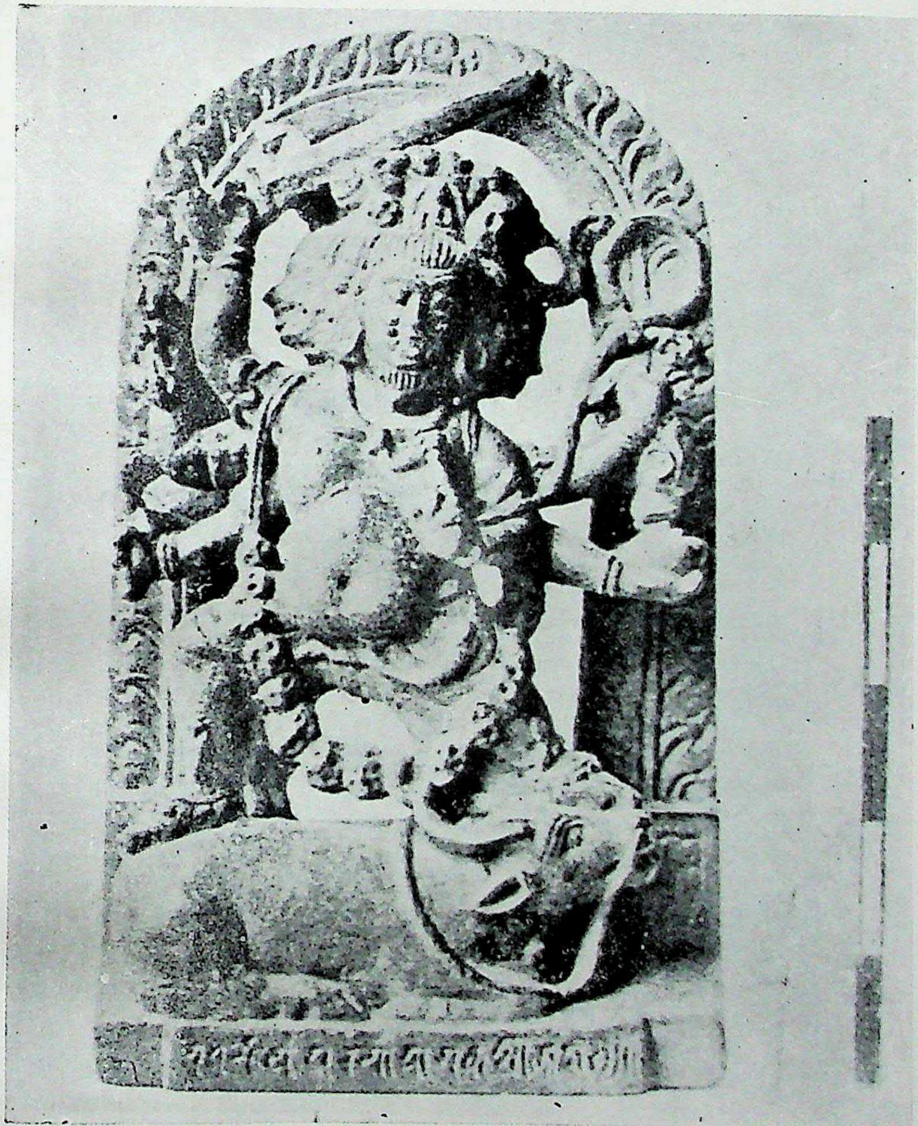


Fig. 7. *Yāmantaka* from Nālandā

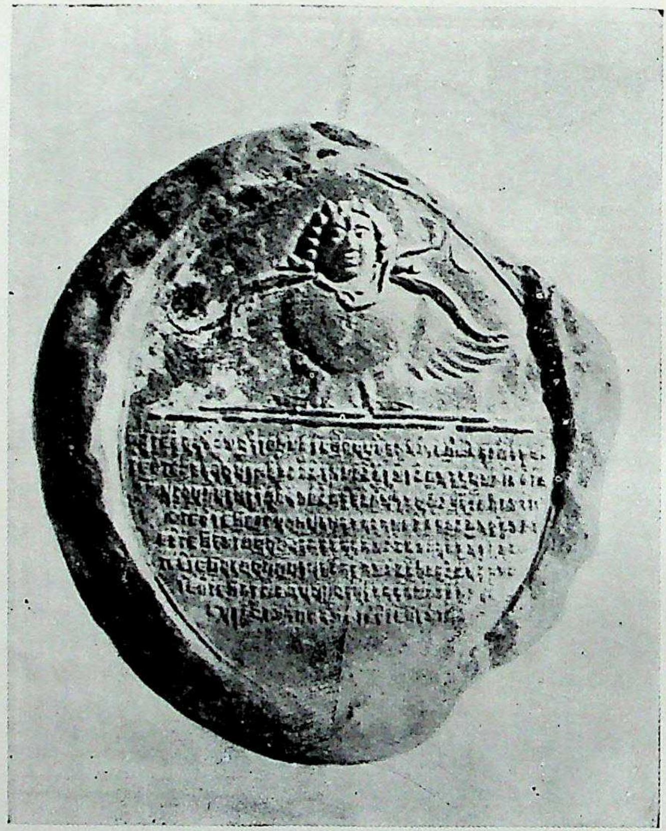


Fig. 8. Seal of Kumāragupta

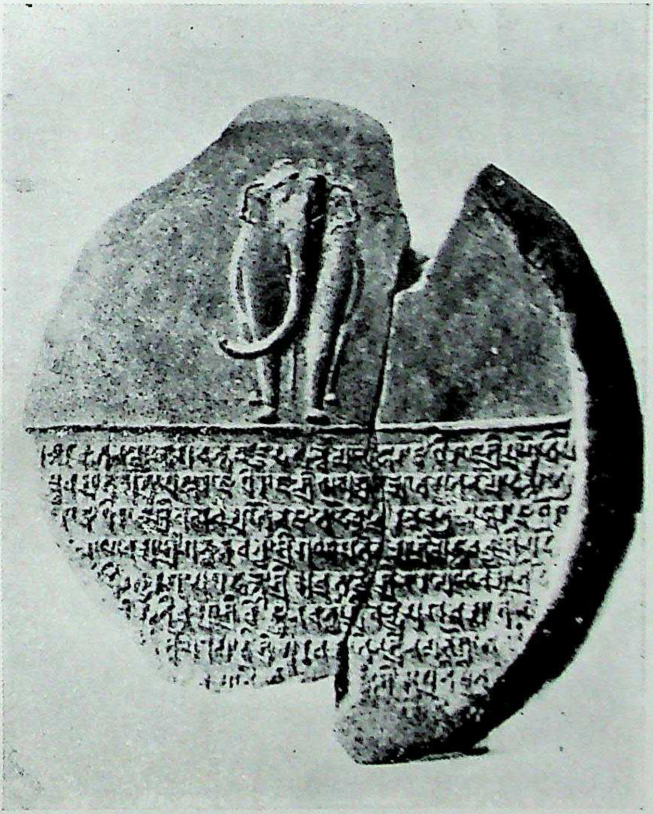


Fig. 9. *Prāgjyotiṣa* Seal

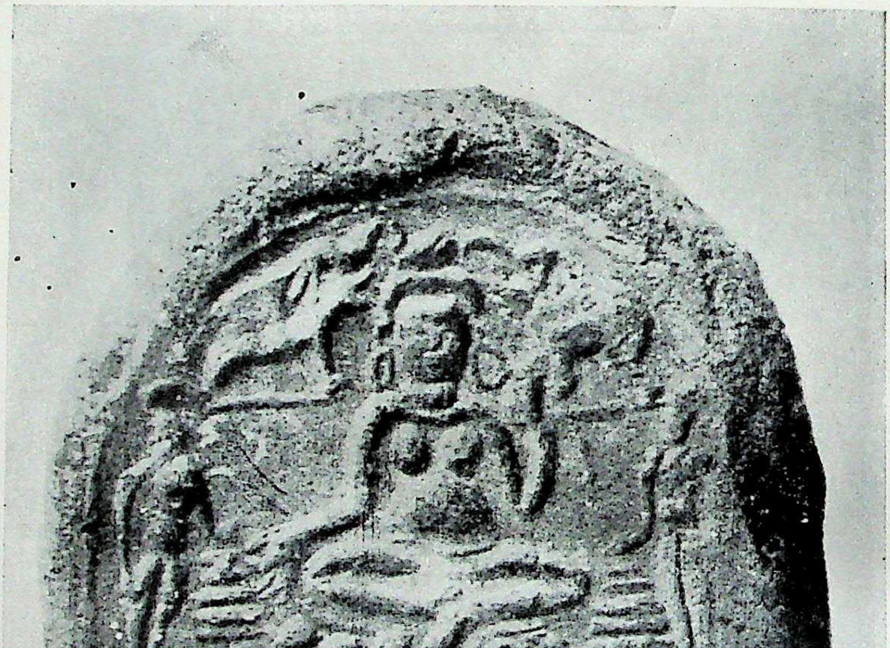


Fig. 10. Nālandā Seal of Office

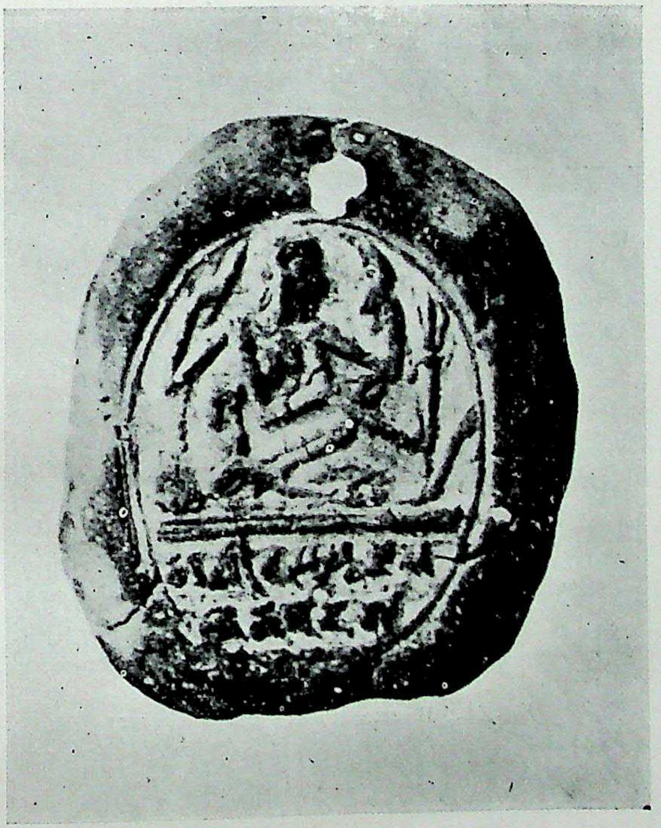


Fig. 11. *Jānapada* seal

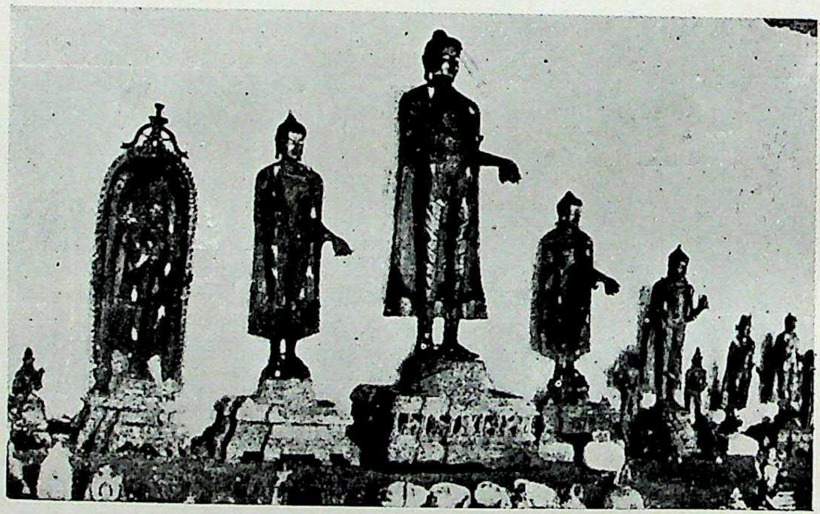


Fig. 12. Bronze figures from Kurkihar

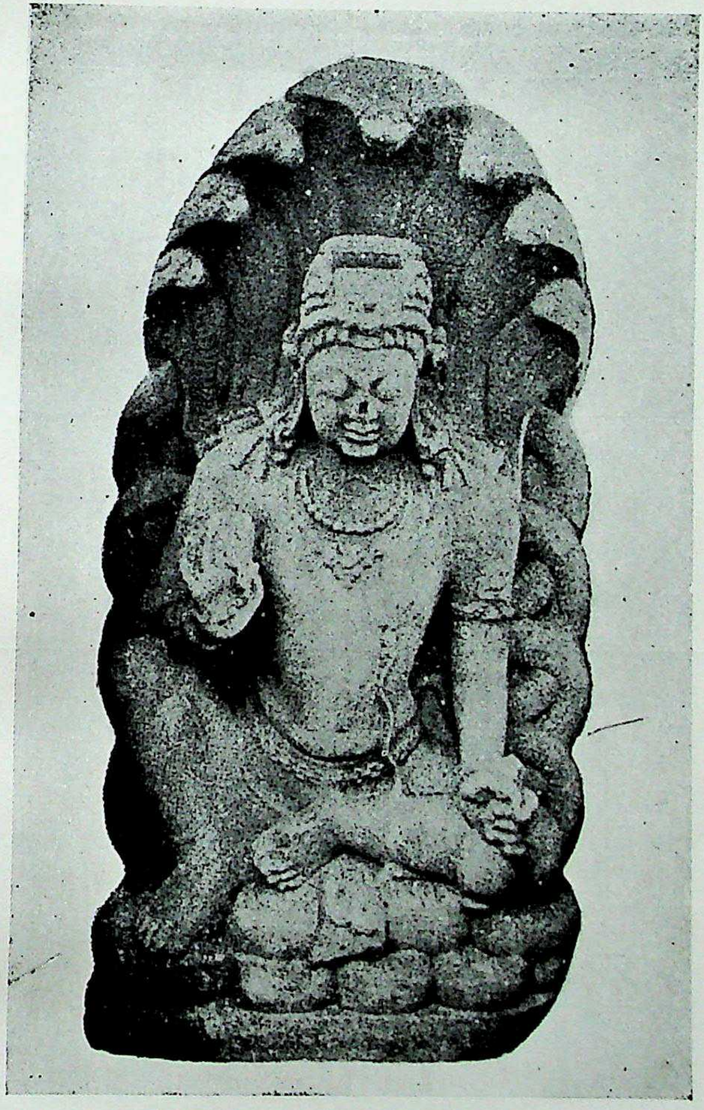


Fig. 13. Figure of Nāgārjuna (?) from Nālandā

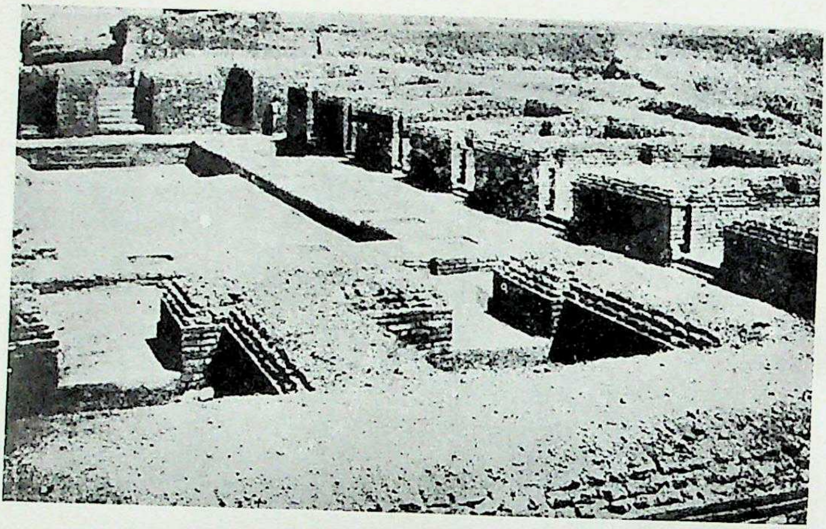


Fig. 14. Monastery No. 1, Nālandā

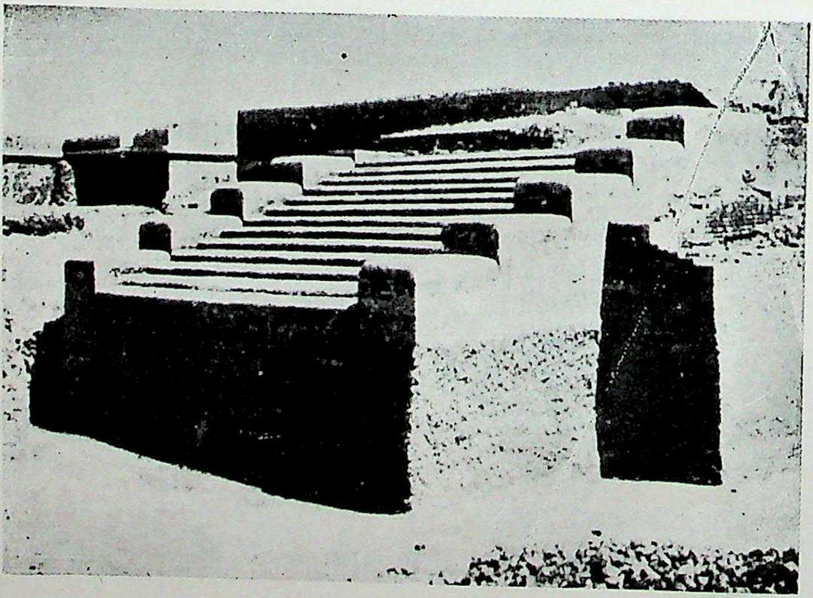
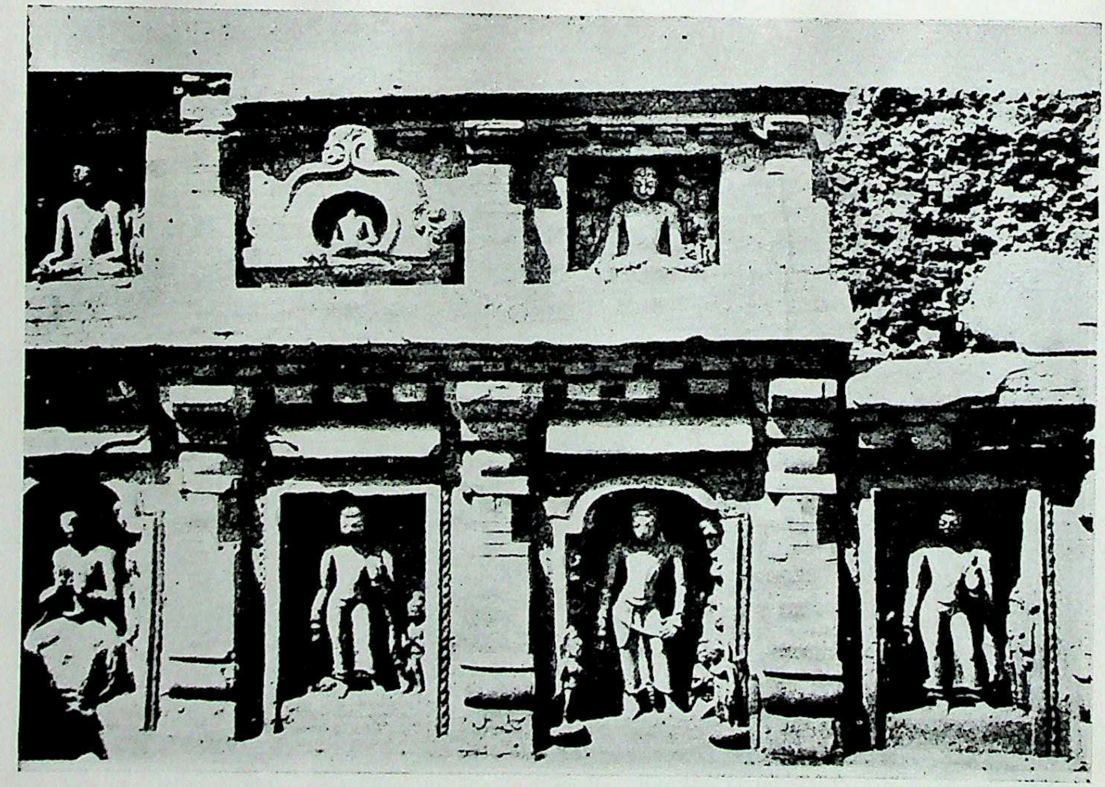


Fig. 15. Main Entrance, Nālandā



ig. 16. Arched Niches of Nālandā

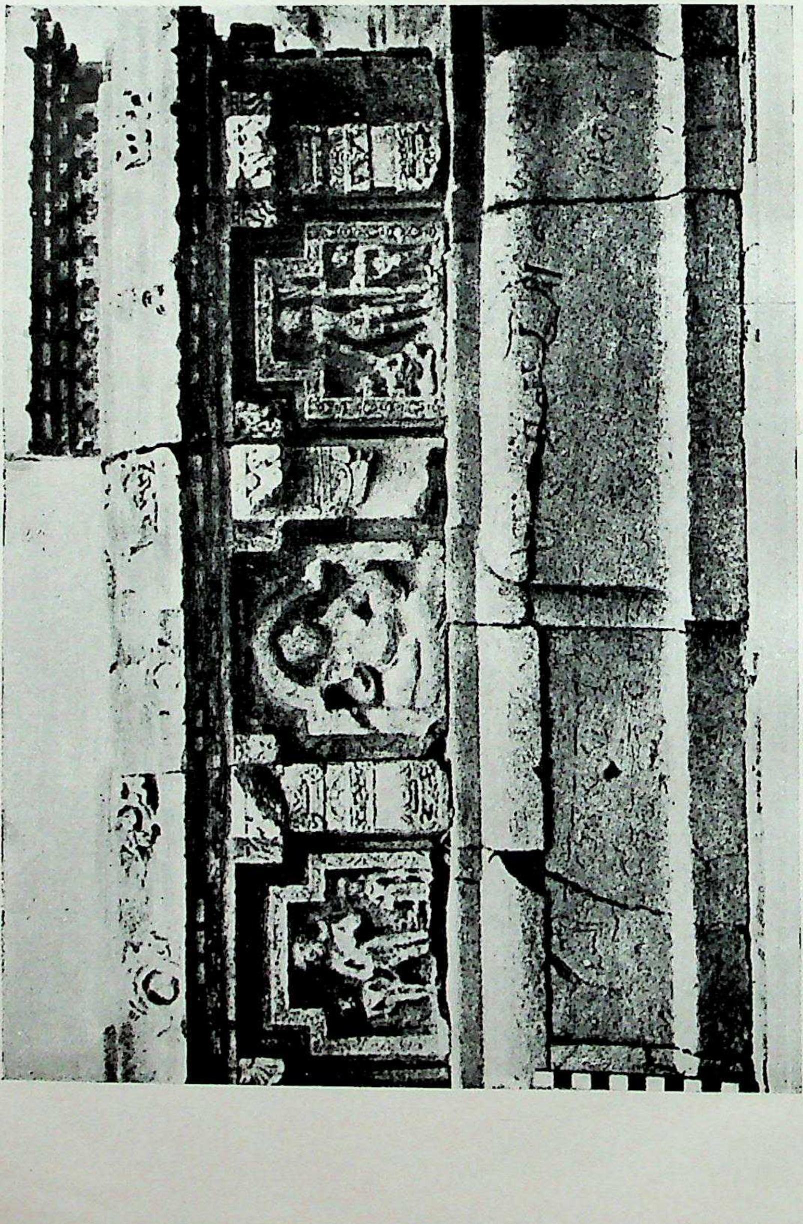


Fig 17. Sculptured Panel, Temple site II

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

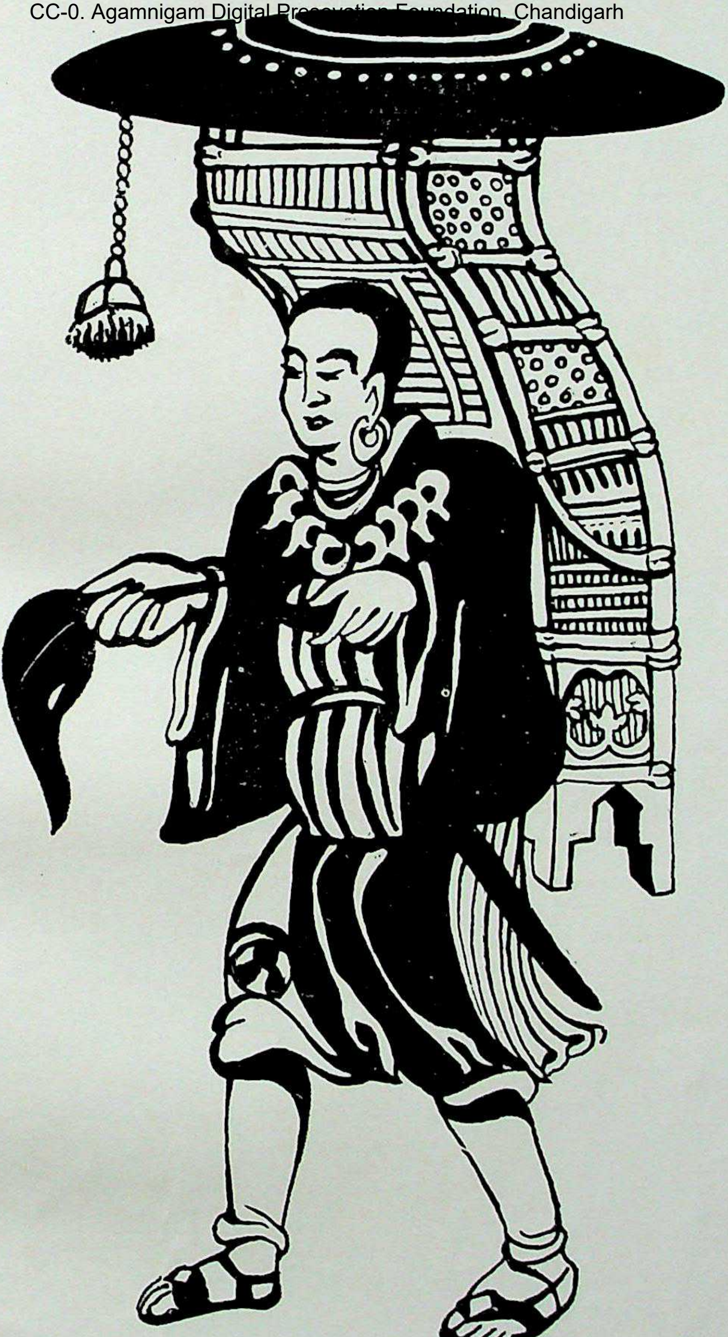


Fig. 18. Hiuen Tsian

Appendix A.

The Theory of Dhyani Buddhas

The theory of Dhyānī Buddhas together with their different Śaktis, the various Yogic and other means of worshipping them with a view to attain Buddhahood, constitute the kernel of Tantrism or Vajrayāna.

Now this theory and the various Tantric practices are for the first time given in their complete form in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*,[1] though there are earlier works, *Mañjuśri mūlakalpa*, for instance, which make some stray references to this theory. The *Guhyasamāja* is assigned to the 3rd century A.D.[2] So the the theory of Dhyānī Buddhas dates back at least to that period.

The origin of the the Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis is given by the *Guhyasamāja* thus :—

Once Buddha was sitting in an assembly, consisting of Bodhisattvas and others. He was requested by the assembly to reveal the *Guhyasamāja*. Thereupon, he sat in different *Samādhis* (meditations) and uttered different kinds of Mantras and transformed himself in different forms of *Tathāgatas* called *Dhyānī* Buddhas their Śaktis or female counterparts and the four guardians of gates.

---

[1] Or *Tathāgataguhyaka*, G.O.S., No. LIII.

[2] Bhattacharyya *Ibid*., Intr., p. XXXVII.

Thus he first created the five Dhyānī Buddhas, Akṣobhaya, Vairocana, Ratna Ketu, the Lord of the Lokeśvara Mahāvidyā or Amitābha and Amoghavajra, respectively.

Then he brought out their female counterparts, Dveṣarati, Moharati, Īrṣyārati, Rāgarati and Vajrarati respectively.

Finally he created the four guardians of the four gates, Yamāntaka, Prajñāntaka, Padmāntaka and Vighnāntaka.

The Maṇḍala of the five Dhyānī Buddhas was now complete.

"It may be seen from the above," writes Bhattacharyya, "that the Maṇḍala is not a external object but the manifestation of one Lord in different forms. The magic arch is nothing but a detailed mental exercise on the part of the Lord, for the instruction of the Tathāgatas and the Bodhisattvas assembled near him. The five Dhyānī Buddhas, as we know from other references in the Buddhist Tantric literature, represent the five *Skandhas* or elements of which the whole creation is composed.[1] The Dhyānī Buddhas are again associated with their Śaktis which, on the one hand, show that the *Skandhas* develop power only when associated with their Śaktis, and, on the other hand, show that the Tantrics who want to develop power should always be associated with their Śaktis or female counterparts."[2]

After thus describing the Maṇḍala of the Dhyānī Buddhas, *Guhyasamāja* deals with the different kinds of *Sīddhis* and revolting and disgusting means—such as the eating of flesh, the use of wine, women, etc.—to achieve them.

Besides these Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis, *Guhyasamāja* mentions other deities : Manjuśrī, Aparājita, Jambhala and others.[3]

---

[1] *Jñānasiddhi. Two Vajrayāna Works*, G.O.S., No. XLIV, p. 41.

[2] Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja*, Intro., p. XIX.

[3] See *Ibid.* pp. XXV-XXVIII.

Guhyasamāja, thus, seems to be the formulator of the Dhyānī Buddha theory and the unique Tantrayāna Pantheon.

"This knowledge of the Tathāgatas" as Jñānasiddhi says, "is known as Vajrayāna, and one who is initiated in its mysteries is said to be invested with Vajrayāna."[1] Further, this knowledge is characterized as one that is not burnt by fire, or overcome by fire, or pierced by the sharpest instruments. It is unsupported like space, it pervades the universe and is devoid of all characteristics and is called the highest truth. It is known as *Mahāmudrā* (great woman), *Sāmantabhadra* (thoroughly auspicious), and the *Dharmakāya* (the spiritual body)."[2]

---

[1] Bhattacharyya, *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Introduction., p. XIX.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Jñānasiddhi*, verses 46.50.

Appendix B

Tantrism and Provincial Vernaculars

We have said earlier that Tantrism encouraged the development of provincial vernaculars. Now Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana has recovered personal biographies of Siddhas who flourished in Magadha, and from a study of their lives he has shown that many of the vernacular works were written at Nālandā. His article on these Siddhas is being published in the *Journal Asiatique*.[1]

---

[1] Jayaswal's Address, *Seventh Indian Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. 15.

BIBLOIGRAPHY

Fa-Hien ... *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Translated and annotated by James Legge, 1886.

Hiuen Tsiang ... *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (2 Vols.) Translated by Samue Beal, 1906.

Shaman Hwui Li ... *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Translated by Samuel Beal, 1914.

I-Tsing ... *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Translated by J. Takakusu, 1896.

Watters, Thomas. ... *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. (2 Vols.) Edited by T.W. Rhys-David, 1904.

SOURCES
(Tibetan)

IN ENGLISH

Roerich, G.N. ... *Biography of Dharmasvāmin* (Chog lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal) K.P Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959.

IN GERMAN

Schiefner, A. ... Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*. Petersburgh, 1869.

IN FRENCH

Cordier, P. ... Catalogue *du Fonds tibetain de la Bibliothique* Nationale, Paris,

(Non-Sanskrit)

Jacobi, Hermann ... *Gaina (Jaina) Sūtras*, Translated from Prakrit, Sacred Books of the East Series Vol. XLV.

David, Rhys ... *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. II, III, IV Oxford. 1899. 1910. 1921

David, Rhys, & Hermann Oldenberg. ... *Vinaya Texts*, *Cullavagga*, *Mahāvagga*, Sacred Books of the East Series, vols. 13, 17, 20.

(Sanskrit)

Buhler, George ... *Manu Smṛti*, Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XXV.

— *Gautama-Dharma Sūtra*. Government Oriental Library Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 50. Mysore, 1917.

Pansikar, V.L. Shastri (Ed.) ... *One hundred and Eight Upanishads*. Bombay 1913.

Belvalkar, S.K. ... Sankara's *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*, Quarter I and II. Edited in the original Sanskrit with notes and English Translation, Poona 1923.

— — *Śrimad Bhagavad Gitā*.

— — *Srimad Bhāgavatam*.

(Buddhist-Sanskrit)

Bendall, Cecil ... Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, 1883.

... Sāntideva's *Śikṣā-Samuccaya*, Translated into English, London, 1922.

... A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal, Calcutta, 1915.

... *Nyāya Praveśa*, Part I, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. XXXVIII Baroda, 1930.

Śāntarakṣita ... *Tattvasaṁgraha*, Vols. I & II. Gaekwad Oriental Series, Nos. XXX, XXXI, Baroda, 1926.

Sarvajña Mitra ... *Sragdharā Stotra Tikā.* With a commentary by Jina Rakṣita.

Shastri, MM. H P. ... A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Government Collection Under the Care of The Asiatic Society, Bengal, Buddhist MSS. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1917.

Tucci, Giuseppe ... *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, Baroda, 1929.

Muller, M. & Nanjio, B. (Ed.) *Sukhāvativyūha*, Oxford 1883.

(Tantra and Tantrism)

Avalon ... *Principles of Tantra*, Parts I and II London, 1914.

Advayavajrasaṁgraha. Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1927,

Two Vajrayāna Works, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, No. XLIV. 1929.

Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, Mahāyāna Sūtra, Calcutta, 1872.

Shri Chakra Saṁbhāra Tantra, A Buddhist Tantra, Edited by Kazi Dawa Sum Dup. Tantrik Texts, General Editor, Arthor Avalon, Volume VII. 1919.

Guhyasamāja Tantra or *Tathāgata-guhyaka.* Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. LIII, Baroda, 1931.

Sādhanamālā, Vols. I and II Gaekwad Oriental Series, Nos. XXVI and XLI, Baroda, 1925 and 1928.

(Archaeological, Epigraphical and Numismatic)

Allan, John ... Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda, London, 1914.

Cunningham ... Archaeological Survey of India Report, 1861,

... Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-1928.

Fleet, J. F. ... *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Calcutta, 1888.

Kuraishi, M.A. ... *A Short Guide to the Buddhist Remains Excavated at Nālandā*, Calcutta, 1931.

Ghosh, A. ... -Do- 1942

Sastri, Hirananda ... *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Material Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66. Delhi 1942.

LITERATURE

(Art, Architecture and Iconography)

Coomaraswamy A.K. ... *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927.

" ... *Introduction to Indian Art*, Madras. 1923.

Fergusson, James ... *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876.

Grunwedal, A. ... *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901.

Havell, E.B. ... The *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation, London, 1915.

" *Indian Architecture*, London, 1913.

Ludwig Bachhoffer *Early Indian Sculpture*. Vols. I and II, Paris, MCM XXIX.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh ... *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Bhattasali, Nalinikanta ... *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929.

Getty, A. ... *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914.

(Buddhism)

Bose Phanindranath ... *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, Madras, 1923.
,, ... *The Indian Teachers in China*, Madras, 1923.
Copleston ... *Buddhism—Primitive and Present, in Magadha and Ceylon*, London, 1892.
Coomaraswamy, A.K. ... *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, London, 1928.
Das. S.C. ... *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. Calcutta, 1893.
Dutta, Nalinaksha ... *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, London, 1925.
Dutt, Sukumar ... *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London, 1924.
,, ... *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, London, 1962.
Eitel, E. J. ... *Hand-book for the Students of Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1876.
Hardy, Spence ... *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850.
Mitra, Rajendralal ... *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882.
Monier-Williams ... *Buddhism*, London, 1889.
Nariman. G.K. ... *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, Bombay, 1923.
Ryukan, Kimura. ... *A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayana and Mahayana and the Origin of Mahayana Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1927.
Vasu, N.N. ... *Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1911.
Waddell ... *Lamaism or Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895.

(General)

Agarwal, Vasudeva Sharan ... *Harshacharita—Eka Saṁskritic Adhyayana* (Hindi) Patna, 1953.
Altekar, A.S. ... *Education in Ancient India*, Benares 1934.

Balfour, Edward. ... *The Cylopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia*, Vol. I, Third Ed. ; London, 1885.

Cunningham ... *Ancient Geography of India.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.

Dey, Nundolal ... *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, London, 1927.

Dutt, Romesh Chunder ... *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, Revised Edition in Two Volumes, London, 1893.

Majumdar, R.C. ... *History and Culture of the Indian People—The Classical Age*, Vol. III Bombay, 1962.

" ... *History and Culture of Indian People—The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Vol. IV. Bombay, 1964.

" ... *History and Culture of the Indian People—The Struggle for Empire* Vol. V. Bombay, 1966.

Jayaswal, K.P. ... *History of India*, Lahore, 1933.

Ray Chaudhari, Hemachandra ... *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1923.

Samaddar, J.N. ... *The Glories of Magadha*, Second Edition, Patna, 1927.

Smith, Vincent A. ... *The Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1924.

Venkateswara, S.V. ... *Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I, Longmans Green & Co. 1928.

... *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Orientalia. Parts I-II-III.

... ... *Proceedings and Transactions of the Indian Oriental Conference.*

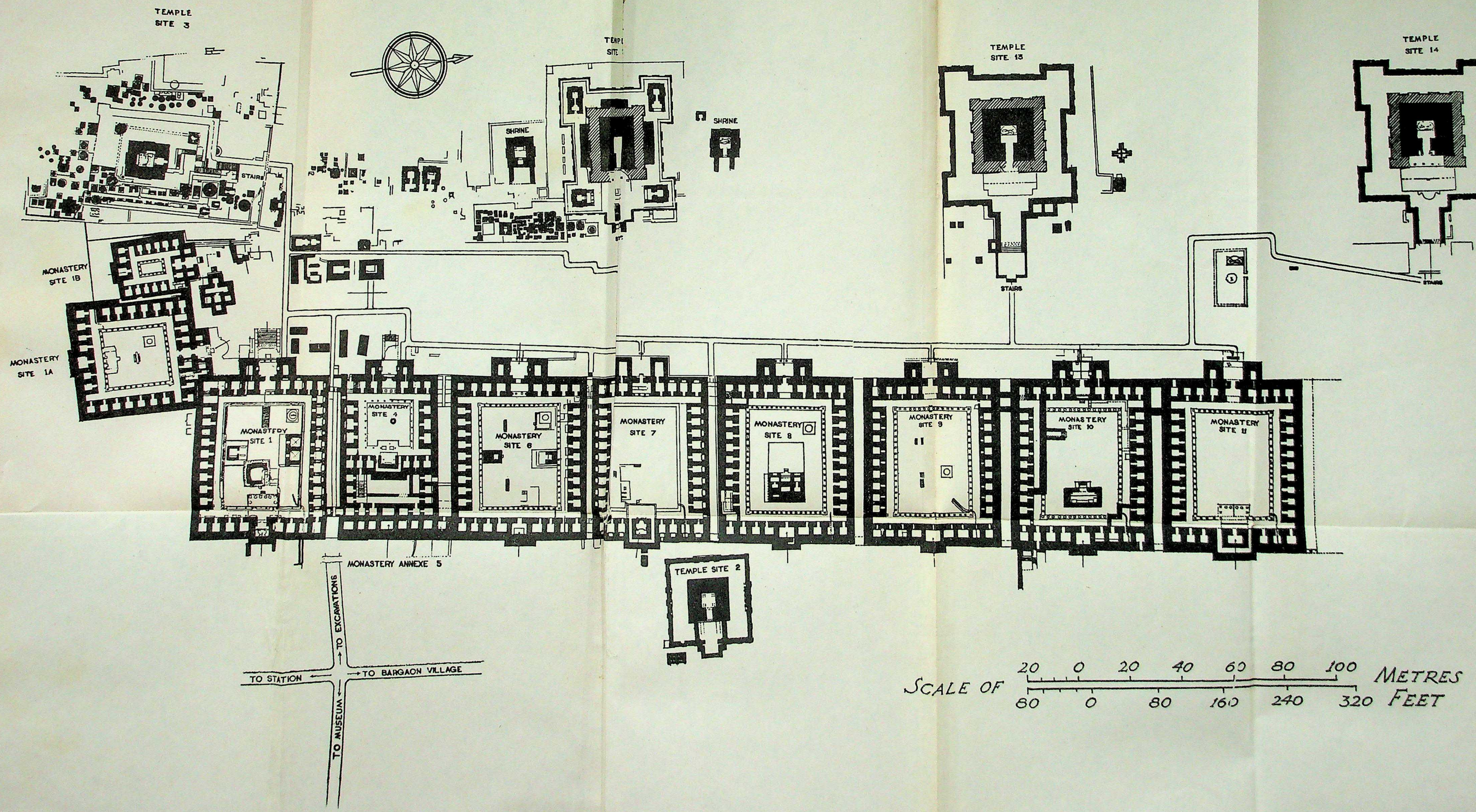
Keith, Arthur Berriedale. ... *Indian Logic and Atomism*, Oxford, 1921.

Sugiura, Sadajiro. ... *Hindu Logic as Preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia. 1900.

Vidyabhusana, S.C. ... *A History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921.

NĀLANDĀ: DISTRICT PATNA, EXCAVATED REMAINS

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh


TEMPLE SITE 3
TEMPL SITE
SHRINE
SHRINE
TEMPLE SITE 13
TEMPLE SITE 14
STAIRS
STAIRS
STAIRS
MONASTERY SITE 1B
MONASTERY SITE 1A
MONASTERY SITE 1
MONASTERY SITE 4
MONASTERY SITE 6
MONASTERY SITE 7
MONASTERY SITE 8
MONASTERY SITE 9
MONASTERY SITE 10
MONASTERY SITE 11
MONASTERY ANNEXE 5
TEMPLE SITE 2
TO EXCAVATIONS
TO STATION
TO BARGAON VILLAGE
TO MUSEUM
SCALE OF
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 METRES
80 0 80 160 240 320 FEET

Vidyabhushan. S.C. ...	*History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909.
Newman, John Henry Cardinal ...	*The Idea of a University*, New Edition. 1891 and 1910
,, ...	*Select Discourses from the Idea of a University*, Edited with Introduction by May Yardley, Cambridge 1931.
Rashdall, Hastings...	*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford. MDCCCXCV.
Walden., J. W. H. ...	*Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1909.

Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Epigraphia Indica.
Indian Antiquary.
Indian Historical Quarterly.
Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal.
Journal, Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
Modern Review.

Vidyabhushan. S.C. ... *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909.

Newman, John Henry Cardinal ... *The Idea of a University*, New Edition. 1891 and 1910

" ... *Select Discourses from the Idea of a University*, Edited with Introduction by May Yardley, Cambridge 1931.

Rashdall, Hastings... *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford. MDCCCXCV.

Walden., J. W. H. ... *Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1909.

Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Epigraphia Indica.
Indian Antiquary.
Indian Historical Quarterly.
Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal.
Journal, Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
Modern Review.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations of the titles of works of reference have been used in this book :

A.B.O.R.S.	... *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
A.M.S.J. Vols.	... *Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.*
A.S.I.	... *Archaeological Survey of India Reports.*
A.S.I.A.R.	... *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.*
Biography	... *Biography of Dharmasvāmin.*
BRONZES OF NĀLANDĀ	... *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art.*
E.I. or *Ep. Ind.*	... *Epigraphia Indica.*
G.O.S.	... *Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
H.C.I.P.	... *History and Culture of the Indian People.*
H.I.L.	... *Hisorty of Indian Logic.*
His. Ind. Indo. Art.	... *History of India and Indonesian Art*
H.L.	... *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*
I.H.Q.	... *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
I.L.A.	... *Indian Logic and Atomism.*
Ind. Ant.	... *Indian Antiquary.*
J.A.S.B.	... *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.B.T.S.	... *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
J.B.O.R.S.	... *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
J.R.A.,S.	... *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
S.B.E.	... *Sacred Books of the East.*

INDEX OF IMPORTANT CLASSICAL BOOKS

A

Abhicāra Karman, 145
Abhidharmakoṣa, 21, 22, 168
Abhisamayālaṁkārakārikā, 20
Ālaṁbana-Pratyaya-Dhyāna Śāstra-Vyākhyā, 130
Āryabuddha-Bhūmi-Vyākhyāna, 133
Ārya-Hayagrīva-Sādhana-Nāma, 214
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 69
Aṣṭatathāgata-Stotra, 96
Avataṁsaka, 21

B

Bauddha-Gāna-O-Dohā, 138
Bhartṛ-hari-Śāstra, 169
Bhedavṛtti, 130
Bhikṣu-sūtra, 25
Bodhicaryāvatāra, 21, 139
Book of Dhātu, 167
Book on the Three Khilas, 167
Brahma-Pramathana-Yukti-Hetu-Siddhi, 23
Brahma-Sūtras, 25
Buddha-Hṛdaya-Dhāriṇī, 232

C

Cullavagga, 29, 31
Cūrṇi, 169

D

Daśabbūmi-Vibhāṣā-Śāstra, 18, 102 n. 1.
Dhāraṇī and Tāntricism, 108, 116
Dīgha Nikāya and Tāntricism, 116
Dvādaśa-Nikāya-Śāstra, 19

F

First Principles, 126

G

Gate to the Nectar, 21
Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra, 176, 182
Guhyasamāja, 105, 113, 116

H

Hevajrodbhava-Kurukullyāh-Pañca-Mahopadeśa, 96
Hwui-Tsung, 224
Harṣacarita, 62

J

Jātakamālā, 168

K

Kacchappa Jātaka, 255
Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, 105, 116
Kṛṣṇayamāri-Sādhana-Nāma, 214

L

Lakṣaṇābhidhānodhṛta Laghu Tantra Piṇḍārtha Vivaraṇa Nāma, 129
Laṁkāvatāra Sūtra, 19

M

Madhyānta-Vibhāga, 129
Madhyānta-Vibhāga-Sūtra, 21
Mādhyamika-Kārikā, 21
Mādhyamikimūla, 126
Mādhyamikāvacāra, 126
Mahāṇḍa-Dhāriṇī, 234
Mahākāruṇika Stotra, 122
Mahāyānābhidharma-Saṁyukta-Saṅgīti-Śāstra, 80
Mahāyāna-Saṁparigraha-Śāstra, 20, 193
Mahāyāna-Saṁparigraha-Vyākhyā, 20
Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Upadeśa, 20
Manjuśrī Mūlakalpa, 20, 105, 116
Mahāvagga, 27, 28
Milindapañha, 23
Mūlamādhyamikakārikā, 19

N

Nature of Ratna-Traya, 21
Nirvāṇa, 21

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations of the titles of works of reference have been used in this book :

A.B.O.R.S.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
A.M.S.J. Vols.	*Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.*
A.S.I.	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports.*
A.S.I.A.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.*
Biography	*Biography of Dharmasvāmin.*
BRONZES OF NĀLANDĀ	*The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art.*
E.I. or *Ep. Ind.*	*Epigraphia Indica.*
G.O.S.	*Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
H.C.I.P.	*History and Culture of the Indian People.*
H.I.L.	*Hisorty of Indian Logic.*
His. Ind. Indo. Art.	*History of India and Indonesian Art*
H.L.	*Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
I.L.A.	*Indian Logic and Atomism.*
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary.*
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.B.T.S.	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
J.B.O.R.S.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
S.B.E.	*Sacred Books of the East.*

INDEX OF IMPORTANT CLASSICAL BOOKS

A

Abhicāra Karman, 145
Abhidharmakoṣa, 21, 22, 168
Abhisamayālaṁkārakārikā, 20
Ālaṁbana-Pratyaya-Dhyāna Śāstra-Vyākhyā, 130
Āryabuddha-Bhūmi-Vyākhyāna, 133
Ārya-Hayagrīva-Sādhana-Nāma, 214
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 69
Aṣṭatathāgata-Stotra, 96
Avataṁsaka, 21

B

Bauddha-Gāna-O-Dohā, 138
Bhartṛ-hari-Śāstra, 169
Bhedavṛtti, 130
Bhikṣu-sūtra, 25
Bodhicaryāvatāra, 21, 139
Book of Dhātu, 167
Book on the Three Khilas, 167
Brahma-Pramathana-Yukti-Hetu-Siddhi, 23
Brahma-Sūtras, 25
Buddha-Hṛdaya-Dhāriṇī, 232

C

Cullavagga, 29, 31
Cūrṇi, 169

D

Daśabhūmi-Vibhāṣā-Śāstra, 18, 102 n. 1.
Dhāraṇī and Tāntricism, 108, 116
Dīgha Nikāya and Tāntricism, 116
Dvādaśa-Nikāya-Śāstra, 19

F

First Principles, 126

G

Gate to the Nectar, 21
Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra, 176, 182
Guhyasamāja, 105, 113, 116

H

Hevajrodbhava-Kurukullyāh-Pañca-Mahopadeśa, 96
Hwui-Tsung, 224
Harṣacarita, 62

J

Jātakamālā, 168

K

Kacchappa Jātaka, 255
Kāraṇda Vyūha, 105, 116
Kṛṣṇayamāri-Sādhana-Nāma, 214

L

Lakṣaṇābhidhānodhṛta Laghu Tantra Piṇḍārtha Vivaraṇa Nāma, 129
Laṁkāvatāra Sūtra, 19

M

Madhyānta-Vibhāga, 129
Madhyānta-Vibhāga-Sūtra, 21
Mādhyamika-Kārikā, 21
Mādhyamikimūla, 126
Mādhyamikāvacāra, 126
Mahāṇḍa-Dhāriṇī, 234
Mahākāruṇika Stotra, 122
Mahāyānābhidharma-Saṁyukta-Saṅgīti-Śāstra, 80
Mahāyāna-Saṁparigraha-Śāstra, 20, 193
Mahāyāna-Saṁparigraha-Vyākhyā. 20
Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Upadeśa, 20
Manjuśrī Mūlakalpa, 20, 105, 116
Mahāvagga, 27, 28
Milindapañha, 23
Mūlamādhyamikakārikā, 19

N

Nature of Ratna-Traya, 21
Nirvāṇa, 21

Niyatāniyatāvatāra-Mudrā-Sūtra. 82
Nyāya-Anuśāsana-Śāstra, 77
Nyāya-Bindu, 87, 137
Nyāyadvāra, 73
Nyāyadvāra-(Tarka)-Śāstra, 73. 144
Nyāya-Praveśa, 85

P

Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra, 20
Pañjikā, 145
Pag-Sam-Jonzang, 239
Pañcakara. 245
Paramārtha Saptati, 19
Pātimokha, 30, 178
Prajñapti-Hetu-Saṁgraha (?) Śāstra 85
Prajñāpāramitā, 6, 17 fn. 2, 21, 107, 267
Praṇyamūla-Śāstra-Tīkā, 223
Pratītya-Samutpāda-Hṛdaya, 19
Peina, 169

R

Rakṣācakra, 145
Roṅki, 241
Ṛgveda 198 n. 2

S

Saḍaṅga Yoga, 129
Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, 20
Sādhanamālā, 106
Sāṁkhya-Saptati, 20
Saptadaśa-Bhūmi-Śāstra, 20
Sārdha Śataka-Buddha Praśaṁśā-Gāthā, 230
Sarvalakṣaṇadhyāna Śāstra (-Kārikā) 85
Sarva-Tathāgata-Pūrva-Praṇidhāna-Viśeṣa-Vistāra-Sūtrāntopadeśa, 96
Śāstra on the Gate of the Cause, 85
Śāstra on the Gate of the Resembling Cause, 85
Śāstra on the Grouped Inferences, 85
Śāstra on the Meditation on the Object, 85
Śata-Śāstra, 23, 130
Śata-Śāstra-Vaipulya-Vyākhyā-130
Saundarānanda Kāvya, 88 n. 1
Siddha-Composition, 142
Śikṣā-Samuccaya, 82, 139
Śiṁhanāda Sādhana, 122
Srī-Buddha-Kapāla Mahātantra-Rājaṭīkā Abhaya-Paddhatināma, 107
Śrī Mahākāla-Balli Nāma, 214
Subāhu-Kumāra-Sūtra, 232
Sudassana Jātaka, 38
Sukhāvatī-Vyūha, 98n., 105, 233
Suraṅgama Sūtra, 78
Susiddhīkara Mahā-Tantra, 232
Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga, 38
Sūtra-Samuccaya, 139

T

Tattva-Saṁgraha, 78, 79, 83, 115, 118, 122
Tattvasiddhi, 83, 96
Triṁśatikā, 21

V

Vādavidhi, 22 n. 1
Vajradhara-Saṅgīta-Bhagavata-Stotraṭīkā, 83
Vajravidhāraṇināma Dhāraṇi-ṭīkā, 96
Valitattva-Saṁgraha. 108
Vasudhārā-Dhāraṇi, 232
Vibhāṣā, 21
Vidyāmātra-Siddhi-Śāstra, 194
Vidyāmātra-Siddhi-Śāstra-Vyākhyā, 130
Vigraha-Vyāvartanī, 18n. 1, 23, n. 1
Viṁśatikā, 21
Vijñānamātra-Siddhi, 22
Vijñaptimātra Siddhi Śāstra, 81

Y

Yukti-ṣaṣṭika-Kārikā, 23

INDEX OF IMPORTANT WORDS

A

Abhayamudrā, 156, 159
Adhyātmavidyā, 166
Administration, of Nālandā, 59, 215
Aims, of Nālandā students, 197
Akṣara, realization of, 4
Ālayavijñāna, 19, 80
Ālīḍha, a kind of spiritual posture, 262
Ārāma, meaning, 31
Architecture, Nālandā, 261
Ardhaparyaṅka, a kind of spiritual posture, 136, 263
Art, Gupta, 265; Pāla and Nālandā 265
Astronomy, part of knowledge, 3; at Nālandā, 98

B

Bhikkhu, Buddhist, 24, 179; dress of, 182
Brahma, realization of, 4
Buddhism, heritage, 6; curriculum changes and 13; evolution in, 110; Tantras and, 121; decay in, 240; end; 243
Bhiṣakaśālā, at Nālandā 253

C

Caityavandana, rite at Nālandā, 151
Chandas, Metre, a branch of study 10
Cikitsāvidyā, subject taught at, 77
Curriculum, changes in, 10, 16, 34
Customs, at Nālandā, 149

D

Dhyānī Buddha, theory, 105,
Dhyānamudrā, 157
Dharmacakramudrā, 158
Dice, found at Nālandā, 192
Door-Keepers, at Nālandā, 202
Dress of students, 184

E

Education, āśramas and, 4; landmarks in the history of, 7, 11, 25
Examination, at Nālandā 77

G

Gambling 192
Games, 189
Grammar, part of knowledge; at Nālandā, 247

H

Hetuvidyā, 77, 84
Hīnayāna, strength of, 66, 268
Hospitality, at Nālandā, 223

J

Jyotiṣa, astrology and astronomy, study of, 10

K

Kālacakrayāna, 117-18
Karmadāna, at Nālandā, 149
Karuṇā, doctrine, 102 ff
Kevalādvaita, of Śaṅkara, 23

L

Land Routes to Nālandā, 227
Library at Nālandā, 142
Logic, part of knowledge, 3; Students at, 15; Mediaeval, 23, subject at 84; contribution to; value of, 204
Lokāyata, sect, 223

M

Mādhyamika, Philosophy, 17; works on, 23
Mahāsukhavāda, 102-04,
Mahāsaṁghikā, school, 17
Mantrayāna, 107

Mathematics, subject, 4
Medicine, art, 9

N

Nirātmā, 102
Nirvāṇa, 101
Nyāya, system, 13; curriculum, and 16

P

Pāla, Art, Tāntrism and 204, images, stone and bronze, paintings, 263 ff.
Paṇḍita, meaning, 80, 123,
Pattavidhāna, and Tāntricism, 116
Painting, in University buildings, 211
Parārthānumāna, 85
Philosophy, part of knowledge, 2; taught at 78 ff; Value of 205
Prajñā, symbolic meaning, 111
Prajñopāya, meaning, 111

S

Sabdavidyā, study of, 77, 166
Sādhyasama, fallacy of, 23
Sahajayāna, 115
Sāṁkhya, system, 10; Students' curriculum, and, 11, Criticisms of, 77, 92, 114, 222 ff,
Saṅgha, Buddhist 27, ff.
Saṅghakamma, 37
Saṅghārāma, meaning etc. 37, 45, 71, 258
Saṅgīti, a form of Buddhist literature, 103
Seals, from Nālandā, 59
Ṣiddhi, definition; Varieties, 105
Śikṣā, Phonetics, 10
Śilpavidyā, 166
Sky-Flower, doctrine, at Nālandā, 61, 79
Śuddhādvaita of Vallabha 25
Śūnya, 101, 264, n. 1
Sūtra, Literature, 10

T

Tantra, subject at Nālandā 99; doctrine 121, writers on. 145; aims of Tantrics, 105; qualifications, culture, practices, 113-16; images and pantheon, 159
Tāntrism, origin, nature, features, rise of, 90ff; date of, symbolism, 104; works, 111, Criticism of, 121; educative value of, 109;
Pāla Art, provincial vernaculars and 205; Vikramaśilā and, 211 morality and, 217; Jagaddalā and 218; Tantrayāna Pantheon, 108, 159 ff.
Teaching, methods at Nālandā, 205
Trairūpa, theory, 87
Theology, part of knowledge, 3
  University education and, 3
  at Nālandā 79, 121, 151; Value, 205

U

University, ideal, significance of the word, 1; education and, 2; Kinds of students and, 2; India and the world, 3; students in India and, 164, 170-75; in Europe, 170-75; life, 189
Upaniṣad, word and its meaning, 3; formed part of students' curriculum, 9; quoted, 180, 198 ff.
Upāya, symbolic meaning, 111
Urṇā, 156
Uṣṇīṣa, 156

V

Vajra, Significance, 54, 117
Vajraparyaṅka, 262
Vajrasattva, 112
Vajrāsana, 157
Vajrayāna, Symbolism, 113 ff, 112-113
Vaiśeṣika System, 16; Śāntarakṣita and 92
Varadamudrā, 156
Vassā, rain retreat, origin, 38
Vihāra, description, 29 ff.
Vijñāna, 101
Viśiṣṭādvaita, of RĀMĀNUJA 25

Y

Yabyum, meaning, 26 264, n. 1
Yoga, Philosophy, contribution to 13
Yogācāra, doctrine, 20; School at Nālandā. 266

INDEX OF IMPORTANT PLACES

A

Aligarh, Universty and Theology, 3n. 1,

B

Benares, University and Theology, 3n. 1.
Bodhagayā, and Chinese pilgrims, 233.
Bologna, University of, 6
Burgaon, Village and Nālandā, 257

C

Cambodia, 265
Ceylon, Nālandā and, 231
China and, Nālandā 125, 220, 227, 229-34, 246, 265
Clairvaux, and Nālandā, 234, 237
Cluny, and Nālandā, 234, 237

E

Ellora caves, slabs of stone and writing at, 172

G

Gilgit, and Dhāraṇis, 116

H

Harappa, drainage system at, 270

J

Jagaddala, University of 186, pandits of, 217
Japan, Tāntric practices in, 119
Java, 67, Maitreya figure, Nālandā Art, Mahāyāna and, 265-67,

K

Kāmarūpa, 235
Kāñcipura, and Nālandā, 125, 129-30, 220, 235
Kanheri, Caitya Cave at, 30

M

Malay, Archipelago, and Nālandā, 265
Mohenjo-Daro, drainage system at, 270
Monte Cassino, Nālandā and, 220

N

Nagara Bhukti, 59,
Nala, village, 41
Nālaka, birth place of, 41
Nālandā, application of the word 'university,' to, 1; Theology and, 3n. 1; educational institutions at, 3; Vihāra, 4; professors, 5; rise of, 5; heritage of, 6, 25, 261; wall at, 31; old account of, 36; meaning of, origin; 38-39; Buhdha and 39; Suviṣṇu and, 39; University town and, 43; climate of, 44; prophecy about, 46; Mihirakula and, 47, royal patrons of, 49, I-tsing on, 50; date of royal rise of, 55; Tantra at, 100, Tantrism and education, 121; Pūrṇavarma, and 63; Yaśovarmmadava and, 64; Devapāladeva, Gopāla II, Mahipāla I and 65-69; number of colleges at, 72, library, 72, 247; scholastic city, 73; degree, 76-78, 202; method of examination at, 77, 173; two kinds of students at, 77; Theology and, 77; sky-flower doctrine 80; teachings, 90, not a Buddhist university only 95; Temple of Learning, 98. Astronomy at, 98; clepsydra at, 98; ritualism, 108, 151, 154; Tāntrism, 122; Art, 122 163, 263-67; education, 122; Paṇḍita, 123; Vasubandhu, 123; , Asaṅga 123; Śilabhadra, 131-33; Dharmakīrti, 134; Śānt deva, 138; Padmasaṁbhava, 142; Candrogomin, 145; Viradeva, 146; Seal of, 146-47; Buddhakīrti, 147; Pandits at, 148-52; excavations at, 151, 261; the rites at, 151; Ablution of the Holy Image at, 152; Caityavan-

dana at,152; images discovered at, 154-55; Buddha. 154; Maitreya, 156, 266; Bodhisattva, 157; Tārā and Hāriti, 157. Vasundharā.158, Trailokyavijaya, 159; Heruka. 159, Jambhala, 159: Mārīcī 159; Yamāntaka, 160: Vajrapāṇi 159; 160, 237, 248; Mañjuvara; Koṭiśrī, Vajraśārdā, 160-61; Aparājitā, 161; figures of Hindu Pantheon at, 163; Viṣnu, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā; Śiva and Pārvati, 163, 260; University of Universities, 170; Cf. with Oxford and Cambridge, 170; method of teaching at, 171; copying of manuscripts at, 172; matriculation examination, 173; age of student entering, 173; School for secondary education, 174; state of discipline, 175; dress of the professors of, 182; meals of the students of, 184; provisions of food at, 186; daily life of students, 188 ff; gambling at, 192; games and amusements of, 189 ff; number of students, 193ff, aims and prospects of the students of, 198ff; value of the education, 203; storehouse of wisdom and knowledge, 208; supervised by Vikrmaśilā 210; end of, 217; date of destruction of 237; compared with, Vikramaśilā, 211; Monte Cassino, 220; Fergusson and, 220; Hiuen Tsiang at, 220 ff; Pilgrim-students by the Northern route at, 228ff; Pilgrim-students by the southern route at, 209; I-tsing at, 209; Thonmi at, 231; Nālandā pandits to China, 234, inter-provincial university, 235; manifold aspects of, 237 centre of Buddhist lore, 237; Cluny and Clairvaux and, 237 Cunningham and, 248; re-builing of, 248: of Mediaeval times, 249; Monastery Site No. I at, 250, 253; storeyed buildings at, 250; bhikṣus cells at, 250; stūpa Site 3, 253: Stone temple at, 255; Arts and, 261; Bitpalo and Dhīmān and, 265; bronzes of, 264; Malay Archipelago and, 265; Mahāyāna of Java and, 266; Java temples and, 266; Standing Buddha of, 267; Maitreya of. 267; stūpa style at, 268 bricks, 268, flourished in, 269, architectural specimens, 269. School of arts and crafts at, 271.

O

Odantapurī, Vihāra, 32 ; University of ; rise, 217 ; destroyed, 244
Oxford, University and Theology, 3, n 1

P

Paris, University and Theology, 3 n, 1; University, 5, 181
Puruṣapura, 124, 235

S

Salaerno, University of, 6
Samataṭa, 132. 220, 236
Sāñcī. stūpa at, 268
Sāranāth, Stūpa, 268, Dhāmekha Stūpa at, 268
Somapuri (Paharpur), 65
Soṇa-antarālaviṣaya, 59
Śrāvasti Bhukti, 59
Sumātrā, 67, 235, 246, 265
Suvarṇadvīpa, King of, 66

T

Takṣaśilā, Theology and 3. n. 1, School of arts and crafts at, 269 ; subjects taught at, 9 : number of students at, 194
Talanag Toewo, inscription at, 266
Tāmralipti, and Nālandā, 227, 229
Tibet, Tāntrism and, 115, 119, 141, 219, 231
Turkastan, and Dhāraṇis, 116

V

Valabhī, University of, 170, Monastery at, 127 ; Sthirmati and, 127, 206 ; degree of, 202, value of education. 202, rise, compared with Nālandā, royal patrons, storehouse of knowledge and wisdom studies, 208-09
Vikramaśilā, University, 98, 123, 147, 170 ; number of students, 195, Doorkeepers at 202 ; Sister University of, 209; rise of, 209 : founder, site, royal patrons, Dharmapāla, Atiśa, studies : figure of Nāgārjuna, convocations at, professional staff. degree, student life. and, compared with, Tāntrism : destroyed in, walls at, 244-45

INDEX OF IMPORTANT PROPER (PERSONAL) NAMES

A

Abhayaṅkaragupta, Fandit of Vikramaśilā, 147
Agrawal, V. S. Harṣacarita of, 62
Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, 181
Akṣapāda, founder of Nyāya System, 14 n. 4
Akṣobhaya, emanation of, 161
Alexander, invasion of, 6. 191
Ānanda, disciple of Buddha
Aparājitā, Tāntric image; description of, 161
Aristotle, Syllogism of, 24, 90
Āryadeva, exponent of Mādhyamika Philosophy, 19, author of, 19, 23, Nālandā, 225
Āryavarman, a Corean student at Nālandā, 225
Asaṅga, promulgator of Yogācāra, 19. pandit of Nālandā, 20, 91, 124, 125 Promulgator of Tantra, 104, Mātṛketa and, 235
Aśoka, and Nālandā, 40, 44
Aśvaghoṣa. on Nirvāṇa, 88, author of, 88 n. 1
Atīśa, otherwise known as Dīpaṁkara Śrī jñāna, abbot of Vikramaśilā, 34, 84 figure at Vikramaśilā of; life of; and Nayapāla, 194; visit to Tibet; death of; Tibetan envoy's description of; historicity of; Tibetan inscription about, Tibetan name of, wrote on Tantra, works of, Maitri incident and, character, Tāntrism and, 211-213
Avalon, on Tāntrism, 113
Avalokiteśvara, cult of; image of, 102, 110, 156, 253, 259-60, 266

B

Baktiyar, Khilji, 74, 243, 245, attacked the fort of Bihar.
Bālāditya Narasiṁhagupta, Vasubandhu and, built Saṅghārāmas and Vihāras at Nālandā. 4, 124; Narasiṁhagupta, 47; ruled in 55; restorer of Nālandā, Stūpa and, 56-58, 222-224
Bālaputradeva, King, of patronage of, 58; Nālandā and, 9, 21
Balarāma's Metal images, 3, 66
Balavarman, ambassador of, 66; Nālandā and, 69
Banerji-Sastri, on the identification of Vikramaśilā, 210
Beal, quoted on, 38
Belvalkar, author of, 7. n. 1
Bhartṛhari, author of, referred to, 158-60
Bhāskaravarman, of Prāgjyotiṣapura, and Nālandā, 52
Bhattacharyya, on Vajrayāna, 95; on Tattva-Saṅgraha, on the origin of Tantra, on Karuṇā doctrine; on Tāntric Mantras, 90 ff; author of; referred to 158-60
Bimbisāra, 181
Bitpālo, artist of Magadha, teacher of art at Nālandā, 267
Bodhidharma, a Tukhara student at Nālandā, 228
Bodhisattva, Cult of 102; image of description of a peculiar type of, 156
Bosch, on the Nālandā bronzes, 267
Bose, on Sthiramatī, on the works of Sthiramatī, 127
Buddha, Vassā and; on Vihāra; Nālandā and, image of, 52; description of the bronze figure of: from Jagdiśapura, 154 H; on the relation of Bhikkhus and their preceptor, attack on the life of, on the dress of Bhikkhus, 180 ff.
Buddhagupta, built Saṅghārāma at Nālandā, 53
Buddhakīrti, pandita of Nālandā, 147
Buddhagupta, seal of 71 n,
Buddhapakṣa, and Nālandā, 60

Buddhasena, King of Magadha, 74
Byang-Chub,-od, King who invited Atiśa to Tibet, 213.

C

Candrakīrti, pandit of Nālandā, 127.
Candrogomin. pandit of Nālandā, 145.
Chatterji, on Pāla art, 263
Coedes, on the rise of Tantrayāna at. 266
Coomaraswami, on the classification of images, 155 n. 1
Cunningham. quoted on 38, on the identification of Tiladaka, 167 ; excavated Nālandā, 248, 253

D

Dawsâm Dup, on the classification of Vajrayāna, 107 n.
Devadatta, 181
Devapāla. metallic figures at Nālandā and, 66, inscription of. 67 ; king of Sumātrā and, patronage of, 60; Viradeva and, 146 ; image prepared in the region of. 162
Dharmadeva, paṇḍita of Nālandā, translated Sanskrit works into Chinese ; works 232
Dharmagañja, library at Nālandā, 72
Dharmakirti, contributed to Logic, 87, 89 work ot ; Tantra and ; Nālandā and, Kumārila and 105; Śaṅkara and, date of, 131-134
Dharmapāla, views on Mahāyāna, life of 107, pandit of Nālandā, 109, his discussions with 108 ; works of, 108, 144 ; lived in, 47, 65, 79, 81, 120, 235
Dharmapāladeva. inscription of, 65; Nālandā and, 65; founder of the Vikramaśilā University, 209, Head of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, artists and, 266
Dharmaswāmin, Tibetan monk at Nālandā, 38, 74, 194, 234
Dhīmān, artist of Magadha, teacher of art and Nālandā, 267
Dhruva, on Diṅnāga contribution to Logic, 86, 89
Diṅnāga, writer on logic, 15, 24 ; Nālandā and 125 ; head dress of, 184.
Dipaṁkara Śrijñāna; High priest of, 212

F

Fa-hien, 58, on monasteries at, Patna
Fergusson, on Tilaḍaka, on Nālandā, 221
France, and Tibetan documents 113

G

Gaṇeśa, images of, 155
Gaṅgā image found at Nālandā, description of, 155
Gautama, on brass of students, 182 ; on gambling, 191
Gayā Viṣaya, 59
Glasenapp, and Tantricism, 110
Gokhale V. V.19
Gopāla I, Nālandā and, 64 ; king of 65 ; Odantapurī and, 117
Gopāla II, 68
Gotama, founder of Nyāya-system, 15
Govindapāladeva, last Pāla king, Nālandā and, 69, 70
Gunamati, pandit of Nālandā, 116, 111
Guptas and Nālandā, 49
Gurjara-Pratihāra, kings, 61 ; Nālandā and, 61

H

Hara, 110
Hārīti, image of, 66, fn. 1 ; 154, 157,
Havell, on the observatory at 98 ; on the arched niches of Nālandā 170 ; on the architectural and sculptural finds at Nālandā, 170
Harṣa of Kanauj, 54; king of Central identified with. built sanghārāma at. built vihāra at. 54 n.. 53; maintenance of Nālandā students and, 61, upholder of religious views of, letter to Śilabhadra of, 61, Nālandā Mahāyāna and 79, tribute to the pandits of Nālandā of. 133, Nālandā and, 147, 236.
Heras, on the identification of, 57
Heruka, description of, 163
Hira Nand Shastri, on seals, 64 n.; views on, 63, 252,
Hiuen Tsiang, quoted on, 36; on the saṅghārāmās at Nālandā; the soothsayer and, on the building of saṅghārāmas at, 62, king of

Central India and, 54; Pūrṇavarmā and, 55 description of Nālandā by 73 on the curriculum at. 76 on, students' qualifications, 166, on the method of teaching at, 171, manuscripts and, 172, on Sthiramati, 105; Śīlabhadra and, 126; on the morality of students at, 133; on the number of students at, 194, on the discussions at, 194, on Valabhi, 194; at Nālandā 204; works of, 206; stūpa no. 3 and 252; stone-temple at Nālandā and biographer of, 257; plan of the excavation and, 252.
Hoshang and Śāntarakṣita, 143.
Hūṇa, Mihirakula, 238
Hwui Li, on curriculum at Nālandā, 77; on astronomical observations 85; on the maintenance of students at, 160; on the number of students at Nālandā, 195
Hwui Nieh, a Corean student at Nālandā, 228
Hwui-Ta, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 199

I

Iśvarakṛṣna, Sāṁkhya doctrine and, 11, 20.
I-Tsing, on the character of monasteries, 34; on Śakrāditya, 44; on Nālandā, 50, on the examination at, 77: on Dharmakīrti's contribution to Logic, 87; on the worship of images at Nālandā, 154; on the equipment of student before he entered Nālandā, 167; on the fame of Nālandā students, 170; manuscripts and, 172; on the student entering Nālandā, 173; on meals of students, 185; on students' substinence at Nālandā, 186, on morality of students, 187, on the number of students at Nālandā, 196; on the aims and prospects of the students of the students of Nālandā 202; on the discussion at 203; on Valabhi, 206; Bodhidharma and 228 at Nālandā, 230; translation by, 231

J

Jambhala, image of, 159, 160.
Jayadeva, pandit of Nālandā, 126, 131
Jayaswal, on Kemper's book, 267, no. 4
Jetari, pandit of Vikramaśilā, 212.
Julian, Emperor, on Education, 2n. 1

K

Kamalaśila, pandit of Nālandā, 83, 89, 85, 91; teacher of Tantra at, 97; visited Tibet, 119, 120; discussions with, 119, 137, 138, 143; lived in 145
Kaṇāda, founder of Vaiśeṣika system, lived in, 16
Kaniṣka, 209
Kapila, Age, 13
Keay, quoted on, 34
Keith, author of 7 n.; on Diṅnāga view of Inference, 87 n. 1
Kempers, author, 155; referred to, 159; on Tārā, 143; on Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā 138; on the bronzes of Nālandā, 267; on the relation of 234
Kimura, quoted on, 51: referred to, 124
Koṭiśrī, image of, 161
Kṣitigarbha, a type of Bodhisattva, 157
Kukkutasiddha, built a temple at, 239
Kumāragupta I, identified with, founder of Nālandā University, 52H, 258, 52: date of, religious views of, 56: coin of, 58
Kumāragupta II, identified with, 258
Kumārarāja, king of, 50; Harṣa's letter to, 55
Kumārila, and Śāntarakṣita, 95
Kutbuddin, 55, 245

L

Lakṣmī, at, 60
Lepa, inhabitant of Nālandā, 36
Lha Lama, king of, 184

M

Mahākāla image of 155
Mahavīra, and Nālandā, 40
Mahindrapāladeva, 70
Mahipāla I, 67, Atiśa and 211 n. 1
Maitreya, 6, 84; founder of, 22; author, 19-20

Maitreya (Future Buddha), image of 156, 266

Maitri, student of, 63; Vikramaśila, 187; Atiśa and, 187

Mālāda, minister of, 63; Nālandā and, 64

Mañjuvara, image of 156; Śāntideva and, 138

Mañjuvara, image of, 138, 161

Marshall, on the finds at Nālandā, 139 223 1

Mār cī, image of 3 description of, 136

Mānasiṁha seals of, 60

Mārīcīpicuvā, 160

Matriketa, works of, 200 I-Tsing and, 200

Maukharis, king of 49, 59, 63

Mihirakula, defeated by, 52 Nālandā and, 207 Buddhism and, 209

Mudita Bhadra, repaired the vihāras of, 208

N

Naciketas, 3 n. 3

Nāgārjuna, 6, 53; founder of Mahāyāna, 17, 19, on Śūnya, 88; definition of Nirvāṇa, 88 n; Nālandā and, 102, 204, 210, 215; figure at Vikramaśilā of, 183

Nārada, 3; on education, 8

Narasiṁhagupta, Vasubandhu and, 20; identified with, 48; restorer of 54; defeated Mihirakula, 52, 57; seal of, 58; built at, 49, 260.

Nayapāla, Vikramaśilā and, 182

Newman, on education, 2

Nundo Lal De, on the identification of Vikaımaśilā, 181

P

Padmasaṁbhava, life, Nālandā, Tibet, founder of Lamaism, 141-142 Page, on the gambling die found at, 165

Pālas, Nālandā and, 65. 228; kings, 57, 61, 231; Buddhism and, 209

Pāṇini, age of, 7: Sūtra literature and, 6, 7; curriculum in the time of, 7

Patañjali, founder of (Yoga), 13; age of, 13; of Mahābhāṣya, 13 n. 1; works. 144

Pārvatī, image of, 155

Pātrakesari, criticism of Trairūpa theory, 89, 95

Phul-byung, Tibetan name of Atiśa, 214

Pouis de la Poussin (Ed.), 21

Pou-t'o-ki-to, pandit of Nālandā, visited China, 234

Puragupta, identified with, 49; built at 53, 258

Pūrṇavarman, Maukhari king, 63; presented Nālandā with, 63

R

Rāhulabhadra, pandit of Nālandā, 60, 74, 124, 247

Rāmānuja, propounder of, 25

Rāmapāla, Nālandā and, 60; Jagaddala and, 217

Rashdall, author of 1 n. 1; on the meaning of, 1 n. of on Logic in Europe, 15; on the method of examination, 78, on amusements of Europeon students, 175; on defects of Mediaeval Europeon education, 204

S

Saindhava Śrāvaka and Nālandā, 66

Śakrāditya, king, founder of, 44-5; identified with 58

Samaddar, quoted on 40; identified Vikramaśilā with, 210; on the destruction of, 244-45

Sāmantabhadra, a type of Bodhisattva, 157

Śaṅkara, propounder of, 12, 23, 96; and Dharmakīrti, 134; Śāntarakṣita, 134, Buddhism and, 242.

Śāntarakṣita, pandit of, 82, 90, works; on Trairupa Theory; on Sāṁkhya different schools, of thought, Tantra; 83-97; Śaṅkara and Kamalaśīla 137; Tibet and, 140

Śāntideva, pandit, author of 81 ff; Nālandā and Mañjuśr , 138 ff

Sarasvatī, image of, 163

Satyakāma Jābāla, 4

Senas, Nālandā and, 71

Siddhasena Divākara, author of, 14

Śīlabhadra, pandit of, 33 Buddhism, built monastery at, Harṣa, Hiuen Tsiang, 130 ff 221-23

Śiva, image of, 162.

Skandagupta, king, identified with 53, 258

Spooner, 223, 224

Sthiramatī, works, 80, views on, 69 pandit of, 126 founded monastery at, 105 106, 179, Tibet and, 105; 106, lived in 106: works of, 107; Tantra and, 107
Śubhākara Siṁha, pandit of Nālandā 232; visited China, 202; translated into Chinese, 202
Sureśvaravarman, seal, 79; genealogy of, 63
Sūrya, image of, 155
Suviṣṇu, Nālandā and, 39
Srong-tsan, Tibetan king, 231
Sylvain Levy, 21
Srīdeva, pandit, 227

T

Tang, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 228
Tārānātha, author of, 20; quoted on, 37, 103; on Diṅnāga, 104; on Jayadeva, 105, 109 on Candrakīrti, 112; on Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, 186; on Odantapuri, 189, 202; on art, 233; mentioned, 235;
Tārā, image of, 131; worshipped at, 134, description of, 134, 135; Maha, Śrī, 135; Śyāma, 135; At śa and, 188
Tao Hi, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 228
Taou Lin. a Chinese student at Nālandā, 228
Taou-sing, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 228
Tathāgatagupta, built saṅghārāma at, 49; identified with, 54
Thonmi, Tibetan minister's son, at Nālandā, 231
Trailokyavijaya, 136; description of 136, 139
Tucci, 18; quoted on, 18; on Tantra, 95 n. 1

V

Vāgīśvarī. 59
Vajra, king, built saṅghārāma at, 45; identified with, 49
Vajrapāṇi, mentioned 234; description of, 135, 137
Vajraśāradā, image of, 137
Vainyagupta, seal of, 61 n
Vaiśampāyana, 155
Vallabha, 23
Varmans, 55 seals of, 55
Vārsagaṇya, Sāṁkhya and, 19
Vasubandhu, author of, 22, lived in, 117. pandit of Nālandā, 20, 53, 117, 124-25. 215; works on Logic, 24, syllogism of, 87, Bālāditya and, 124, Mātṛketa on. 235
Vātsyāyana author of, 29, Bhāṣya, 84-5
Vidyabhūṣaṇa, quoted on 221, 274, on the dress cf Bhikkhus, 184 on Vikramaśilā, 182
Vigrahapāla, 60
Vikramāditya I identified with, 53
Vikramāditya II, identified with, 53
Vindhyavāsa, 19
Virocana, 3 n. 3
Viradeva, Devapāla and, 67, head of the saṅgha, 67, 205, governor of Nālandā, 146, life, 146, 236
Viṣṇu, image of, 131, 138, description of, 183
Vincent Smith. 52

W

Waddell, on Mahāyāna, 20, on Tantra, 105
Walden, author of, 2n. 1
Winternitz, on Tantra, 100
Wou King, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 229

Y

Yājñavalkya, 181
Yamāntaka, 160, description of, 160
Yāska, author of, 7
Yaśodharma, identified with, 64
Yaśovarmadeva, inscription of, 64, Nālandā and, 64, identified with, 64, ruled at, 64
Yuvan Chiu, a Chinese student at Nālandā, 227

State Museum Library * Lucknow *

Errata

Since the author had no opportunity to go through the proofs, mistakes have crept in. Some of which have come to his notice are here corrected,

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
15	11, 12	Diṅānga	Dinnāga
70	7	end	ends
84	28	the	he
85	17	seems to	seems to be
109	1	degeracy	degeneracy
110	21	esteric	esoteric
		exteric	exoteric
126	4	lived probably	lived perhaps
134	1	from what are	from what we
137	20	little doubt	doubt about
		Dharmakīrtis	Dharmakīrti's
143	13	great debatee	great debator
151	17	the situ later	still later
154	21	praine	praying
185	4-5	was student quite	was quite
196	22	stying	staying
205	17	Loking	Looking
219	4	raligious	ritigee
219	f.n. 2	The remarks have made, from	The remarks here made
246	8	cultur	cultural
249	19	side	site
263	22	super	superb
265	28	consistent	constituent